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AUTHOR Rosenblum, Sheila; Jastrzab, JoAnn J.
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ABSTRACT

The ways in which principals have influenced or been influenced by four Teacher Corps projects are described and explained in case studies based on field interviews, observations, and a review of the documents produced in the course of the projects. The studies also provide the background both for an analysis of factors affecting the role of the principal and for the compilation of a user's manual for administrators and project staff. The studies were conducted in the second year of a five-year project lifespan. They report the observations of two-person teams who observed their assigned schools for a total of five days during two site visits. Within all four projects, the teams observed changes taking place in the organization, substantive direction, and distribution of authority. (Author/WD)

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ABT ASSOCIATES INC.
55 WHEELER STREET, CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS 02138
TELEPHONE • AREA 617-492-7100
TWX: 710-3201382

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# CASE STUDIES OF FOUR TEACHER CORPS PROJECTS

An Appendix to

THE ROLE OF THE PRINCIPAL IN CHANGE: THE TEACHER CORPS EXAMPLE

Sheila Rosenblum
JoAnn J. Jastrzab

with

Nancy Brigham
Donald Phillips

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Teacher Corps, Department of Education
Program Development Branch
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## INTRODUCTORY NOTE TO THE CASE STUDIES

The following section contains case studies of four Teacher Corps projects and the role of principals in those projects. The case studies were based on field interviews with principals and representatives of other role groups involved in Teacher Corps projects (project staff, teachers, district personnel, and community members), observations and a review of documents prepared within the local projects. Site visits were conducted by a two-person team for two days in December, 1979 and for three days in February or March, 1980. Wherever possible, the site visit team observed project related meetings or activities in progress during the visits.

The purpose of the project-specific case studies is three-fold:

- to describe and explain the ways in which principals influenced or were influenced by the Teacher Corps project; in order to do so, extensive descriptions of the principals and their schools, and the project context were included;
- to provide the substantive base for the Synthesis which analyzes factors affecting the role of the principal across the four projects; and
- to provide the substantive base for the User's Manual in which training needs for administrators and project staff are identified and illustrative training materials are provided.

The case studies are <u>not</u> intended to be evaluations of the individual projects. The authors admit that it is difficult to describe and explain their observations without appearing judgmental. We want to emphasize strongly that the study was conducted midway during the second year of a five-year project lifespan, and early in the implementation stage. These case studies report only what we saw during the site visits. In all cases, we saw indications that changes in project organization, substantive direction and distribution of authority were taking place. It is too early to predict the ultimate success or failure of project strategies, and the degree to which principals affect them.

Each of the case studies has been reviewed by the Project Director at the relevant site and has been corrected based on the review. Although they agree that the cases are substantially accurate, in some cases they did not agree with our interpretations.

All names of places and individuals are pseudonyms.

THE MID-ATLANTIC URBAN PROJECT

Sheila Rosenblum

## The Context

This project is located in one of the major urban areas in the mid-Atlantic region of our nation. Although surrounded by vast cultural, educational, financial, and intellectual resources, the school system is beset by the social and economic problems that have affected many urban schools: below average achievement on standardized tests of basic skills, declining enrollment, high absenteeism, frequent vandalism, declining resources, and de facto racial segregation.

The school district is divided into six regions (or sub-districts), each under the direction of a regional superintendent; all four project schools are located in one of the six regions. A number of schools within the region have been closed or converted to other purposes in recent years due to declining enrollment, and a policy of open enrollment exists thoughout the system.

Paralleling the introduction of the Teacher Corps project in this site is the district-wide mandatory Competency-Based Curriculum (CBC) program. The implementation strategy for CBC involves a series of teacher planning teams and workshops similar to those involved in the Teacher Corps project. Various attempts have been made to link the CBC training with the Teacher Corps in-service program in the schools.

There are two significant factors affecting the position of principals in this district: the role of the community and the power of the teachers' union. Although several principals commented on the relatively low level of parent involvement in the schools (for example, low attendance at PTA meetings), the community is very influential in the process of the selection of principals for each school. The teachers union in this district is very powerful in terms of defining what teachers can and can not do, and the extent of their participation in training sessions and workshops.

Initially, three project schools from this region were selected for inclusion in the Teacher Corps proposal on the basis of "need": one elementary school, one junior high school and one high school (the only other high school in the region had been part of a successful Teacher Corps project in Cycle 11). A fourth school, another junior high located one block away from the high school, was added at the beginning of the second year of the project. The original project junior high school hired a new principal at the beginning of the second year, the high school hired a new principal two-thirds of the way into the first year of the project, and the fourth school was added at the beginning of the second year. Thus, three of the four principals of the project schools were not involved either during the proposal stage or during most of the planning year of the project. In two of the cases, the principals came into a school and inherited involvement in an externally managed collaborative project. In the third case, the principal had been there for many years and had voluntarily joined the project, although she was not involved in the original planning stages.

The project is directed by Dr. Sally Jones* and John Williams, both of whom have had extensive Teacher Corps experience dating back to when Teacher Corps was originally started. Most recently both Jones and Williams ran a Teacher Corps project in a neighboring high school; that project received national recognition as a highly successful project which improved the situation within a troubled urban high school. Based on their previous successes Jones and Williams were confident about the management of the more complex Program '78 project--one involving at least three schools and scheduled to last five years.

## The Project

This project encompasses a very sophisticated design and philosophy based on the many years of cumulative experience of the Project Director (Dr. Sally Jones) and Assistant Director (John Williams) in previous Teacher Corps projects and in the other federal programs. Dr. Jones has been involved with Teacher Corps projects since the early sixties; her reputation as an expert in educational change is recognized nationally. Williams, similarly has had

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*All names of individuals and schools are pseudonyms.

extensive Teacher Corps experience; prior to that, he was a teacher in the public schools in the district. Furthermore, both the University ( a nationally known, private, traditionally black University) and the regional district had participated in a Teacher Corps project during a previous cycle. Dr. Jones and Mr. Williams had anticipated and begun to implement many of the features of the current legislative guidelines of Teacher Corps in earlier project. They had also anticipated the need to more systematically introduce a component which would foster the involvement of principals. They had become very sensitive to the importance of the role of the principal, acknowledging that if a project was not "tight with principals," then the achievement of any desired goals within a school building was questionable. They felt that if principals were not openly pro-project, their lack of support could sabotage any outcomes.

Although the proposal for this Teacher Corps project was officially generated by the vice-superindendent and the university dean, the actual proposal was written by Sally Jones and John Williams, with input from district, school, community, and university personnel. Dr. Jones (Project Director) has a faculty appointment and maintains an office at the university, as well as at the project staff office (located in an old former school building in the regional district). Mr. Williams (Assistant Director and documentor of the project) maintains an office in the project staff headquarters located in a former school building within the Regional District; his salary comes out of the school district's portion of the project's budget.

The project was designed to provide support and staff development for the new major thrust of the school district: the implementation of the Competency-Based Curriculum (CBC). The school district had initiated the development and validation of a pre-K through 12 CBC through an open education approach two years prior to the project. One year prior to the project the superintendent had asked each school to develop a school-based local action plan for the implementation of CBC. The Teacher Corps project was designed as a support system to carry out the school plans. Although each school has a CBC committee and the district has a CBC support staff, Teacher Corps was seen as an additional but major resource to facilitate the implementation of this new thrust of education in the district.

Three schools were chosen by regional staff as most "in need" of involvement in the Teacher Corps project, and with the consent of their principals, were designated as the project schools. The principal of a fourth school, Lowell Junior High, had wanted to be involved but that school was not considered eligible, according to the Teacher Corps regulations concerning income level of its student population. Lowell Junior High was added to the project the second year; several factors contributed to the decision to involve Lowell. In part, the decision was associated with the effort to disseminate Teacher Corps to other schools within the region; there is also some suggestion that it was a deliberate attempt to bring in a strong school with a "strong" leader who would help set a model within the project for the other schools (especially since there had been principal turnover in two of the other three project schools during the first project year.) During the proposal writing stage, the proposal writers solicited input from the principals as to what needs they had for additional in-service to support and carry out the school-based plans for CBC.

A characteristic of this project which is rather unique is that the project deliberately considers itself to be a "support system" to the schools and not primarily a system to manage and deliver services. According to the Project Director, "the project is the project schools. The project staff are a support system to the project schools." Each school has its own Needs Assessment and Planning (NAP) team with a chairperson from within that school. At the junior high and high schools, this NAP team is either similar to or overlaps with the in-school CBC team; at the elementary school, the staff development team was given the Teacher Corps responsbilities. The NAP teams were given the tasks of conducting needs assessments with their staffs, and designing, planning, coordinating and delivering in-service workshops to the staff within the schools to meet those needs.

During the planning year of the project, a university facilitator was assigned to work with the NAP teams in each school. The Project Director and the Assistant Director consulted with principals and the NAP teams to help design the full plan for the subsequent implementation years. At the beginning of the second year (the first implementation year) of the project, a Curriculum Coordinator was hired as a member of the project staff to work

with the NAP teams in each school and to be a support person to the teachers in the school, often on a one-on-one basis. She and the NAP teams within each school, and with the help of the Teacher Corps interns, have set up a Teacher Resource Room within each school. The Resource Room serves as a facility in which teachers can hold meetings, get resources, and consult with the Curriculum Coordinator.

Other project staff members include a team leader, a Human Services Coordinator, the university facilitators, and a clerical support staff. Like the Curriculum Coordinator, most of the professional staff members were hired at the beginning of the second project year after Jones and Williams had laid the initial groundwork. For the most part, these newer staff members are less experienced than Jones or Williams in dealing with projects like Teacher Corps. The main governance body of the project is the Policy Board which is very large and has broad-based representation. In addition to its Teacher Corps mandated membership of the Superintendent, the Dean of the College of Education, and the Community Council chairperson, the Policy Board also includes the four project school principals, a representative from the teachers' union, teachers from each project school, the department chairperson for Curriculum and Instruction from the university, and some other district-wide representatives. In total, there are 17 members on the Policy Board and it is very active. The chairperson of the Policy Board is the Regional Assistant Superintendent for Instruction, who has had a very active role in the Teacher Corps project.

The project has sponsored a variety of activities. Probably the most interesting and uniques feature from the standpoint of our study is the Administrative Workshop component. A facilitator from the university has been assigned to work with the principals in designing and implementing monthly workshops for the administrative teams (prinicipals and assistant principals). This component was originally designed to help principals work through the issues of implementing both the Teacher Corps program and the CBC program within their schools. Based on the needs, predilections, and requests of the principals, other issues and programs have come up for discussion during the course of their meetings. The meetings are held monthly, rotating across the four schools (occasionally there has been

an evening dinner meeting), and have proved to be very popular among the project school principals. During the first semester they were scheduled in the afternoon from 3:00-5:00 P.M., a time which most principals found to be difficult because it meant leaving their buildings early. A recent change in the second semester is that they meet from 9:00-11:00 A.M., a schedule which has turned out to be more favorable for the principals, since they go to the meetings directly from home and thus avoid being distracted by activities in their respective schools.

Another unique aspect of this project is extent to which it made a deliberate effort to "tie-in" with the already existing CBC program, the district-wide program for curriculum change. For example, a two-week workshop was prepared and delivered by Teacher Corps personnel to the project schools' staff on diagnostic and prescriptive teaching techniques. Currently, workshops are held approximately monthly in each school, mostly as "lunch and learn seminars." From the beginning project staff have stressed coordination with other activities in the district and other in-service programs, as well as with the specific CBC-related activities. For example, there is currently an emphasis on cooperation between the Curriculum Coordinator of the project and the Teacher Center personnel (another program in the district) for delivery of special in-service programs in the district.

These and all other Teacher Corps activities are <u>voluntary</u> in the project schools. The voluntary aspect is in part attributable to the deliberate design of the Teacher Corps project and it is in part necessitated by the power and influence of the teachers' union in the district. Although the union has adopted a positive position toward Teachers Corps, the union representative in one of the project schools commented that the reason that the union was supportive of the project was that teacher involvement was voluntary; she added that if teachers were required to participate in any of union would fight that requirement.

There are very few total in-service work days in the district, and so such workshops must be scheduled during the school day and attended on a voluntary basis; in most cases, these workshops are scheduled during lunch. A current plan in the high school is to schedule several sessions of the workshops at different hours thoughout the school day so that teachers can

come during their planning period if they so desire; multiple workshop times are planned to not only boost attendance, but also to make the workshops accessible to more teachers who are not always able to attend. In two of the project schools, the elementary school and Lowell Junior High School, there are current plans to schedule some of the Teacher Corps-sponsored workshops at faculty meetings. This idea was recommended by the NAP teams and supported by the principals in those schools. Workshops at the other junior high school (Dean) are often planned during the extended home room period, a time when coverage can be facilitated for some classes. Several university coordinators with expertise in math, reading, and special education have been given release time from their university duties to participate in the Teacher Corps project. In general, assessments by participants in the project of the university staff and of the workshops they have delivered have been very favorable.

As in other Teacher Corps projects, there are four interns in the project schools. Their activities are supervised and coordinated by an intern "team leader." At present, they are rotating as a group through all project schools, following specific learning guides developed by the team leader. The Community Council also plays an important role in the project aided by the Human Services Coordinator. The Community Council chairperson is a very sophisticated parent who has been active in the schools for a number of years and active in the professional community. Fitting into the Teacher Corps goal of improved school climate, the Community Council is currently working on programs to improve safety in the schools. There is also a plan to design and implement a volunteer program in the project schools which will bring in parent volunteers, at the request of the principals and teachers, to perform a variety of functions.

In sum, the project consists of several different components: administrator in-service, within-school project activities, intern involvement in the schools, and Community Council activities. Each component has its own facilitator, and the Project Director and Assistant Director provide support and coordination to them. In large part, however, the facilitator for each component is fairly autonomous. Part of the "separateness" of the

different components is caused by the gap between the very experienced Project Directors and the other project staff who are is much less familiar with Teacher Corps and the change process in educational systems. Because of their prior experience, the directors make assumptions about what should be occurring within and across the components and these assumptions are not always specifically communicated to the staff directly responsible for their implementation. Many of the linkages that have been established between the university, the project staff, and the project activities within the schools can be viewed more as horizontal than vertical. Thus, a university facilitator works with principals; other university facilitators with substantive specialties work with the curriculum coordinator (and/or teachers); the curriculum coordinator works with teachers; teachers are involved in in-service workshops on a voluntary basis, sometimes small groups and sometimes large; and so forth. The main linkage between them takes place at bi-weekly project staff meetings.

An underlying assumption behind all these activities is a "flow" concept. Specifically, while the project by itself does not always appear to be very integrated (several NAP team members commented that on different days different facilitators or coordinators come and talk to them about a variety of project components, and even the NAP team members are often confused about how the pieces fit together), the assumption is that information, knowledge, and skills will "flow" or be communicated to others. For example, while the administrators have their own workshops, it is assumed that what they learn from them and the skills they derive from them will flow back to their schools. Similarly, the activities that take place within the NAP teams will flow to the rest of the staff, and the individuals who come to particular workshops will acquire information and skills that will flow back to other faculty members and students in their departments or in their schools who may not have attended.

Although the sophisticated project design is quite impressive, it is too early to assess how effective it will actually be. For example, the gaps in communication and experience between the Project Directors and the rest of the staff have already created some confusion about the direction the projection is taking. In some ways the project design may be too

ambitious. For example, while other projects in the same cycle are struggling with the problems of implementation; the Teacher Corps Project Director is already pushing for adaptation, diffusion and dissemination of Teacher Corps activities and products to other district schools. She is doing this through the introduction of "portal schools" into the project and through substantial collaboration with the local Teacher Center to provide district-wide programs.

The gradual withdrawal of the Project Director from direct school involvement after the initial planning year is part of the plan for within-school ownership of the project. The Directors view this ownership as essential if the Teacher Corps goal of institutionalization is to be achieved; they view themselves as consultants to the schools. The Curriculum Coordinator works closely with the NAP teams in each school, but in many ways it is the NAP team chairperson, usually a teacher, who is the main internal coordinator of project activities within the school. Dissemination is obviously a major concern for the Project Director. Dr. Jones does express a bit of frustration with the slowness of the pace with which the project is moving and much of that frustration can be attributed to her prior experience with projects that were funded for much briefer (two vs. five years) funding cycles.

## The Project Schools and Their Principals

### Mr. Roberts

Mr. Roberts is principal of Monroe, a K-6 elementary school with an enrollment of 478 (down from 591 two years earlier when the proposal was written). The Monroe school currently has one principal, one director of special education, 19 regular classroom teachers, seven Title I personnel, and fifteen part-time special services personnel. The school also maintains a special education component oriented toward visually handicapped and deaf or blind students. Monroe is the site of several recent innovative programs. Though the school currently consists of self-contained, traditional classrooms, in earlier years a team teaching approach was used. Although Mr. Roberts found the plan to be "tremendous" and very successful, it had to be cut back several years ago due to declining resources and teacher' complaints about inadequate planning time.

Mr. Roberts has been principal of the school since 1971; at that time there were 1,100 students in the school and a full-time assistant principal for instruction. Enrollment has since dropped to less than half of that and there is no longer an assistant principal. There is, however, a resource teacher who seems to function in many ways as an assistant principal and who has much responsibility for the implementation of the district mandated CBC in the school. A great many programs have had to be curtailed due to the declining enrollment. However, Mr. Roberts pointed out that one of the advantages of the decline in enrollment in the school is that it provides space for special programs such as the Teacher Corps Project's Teacher Resource Room.

The school is located in a neighborhood currently undergoing extensive renovation. Formerly a low-income rental area, many of the houses in the area surrounding the school have been remodeled and are being purchased by professional and white-collar workers. Most of the students in the school, however, come from a nearby housing project, and the new residents in the area do not send their children to this (or probably any other) public school. Even though the neighborhood appears quite attractive, Mr. Roberts commented that it was very difficult to attract either parents or teachers to evening meetings at the school because of their fear of coming to the school at night.

Mr. Roberts is a very approachable and easy-going man. Although low key in manner, he seems to have a lot of influence and control over what goes on in his building. He is very visible within the school; his office is adjacent to the school office and his door is always open. He is often seen standing in the doorway conversing with staff and visitors entering the office. Though very visible in the office and halls of his school, Mr. Roberts is more deliberate when he enters a classroom. Like all other schools in the district, teachers at Monroe are evaluated twice a year by building administrators and the evaluation includes classroom observation. Mr. Roberts observes teachers during the second nine weeks of the school year "after they've had a chance to fiddle around and find out where they are."

Mr. Roberts had to assume more responsibility for the instructional program when the school lost its assistant principal due to declining

enrollment. Some of these responsibilities (such as CBC and Title I), however, are delegated to the resource teacher. Mr. Roberts provides for considerable teacher involvement at Monroe in committees such as grade level teams, staff development teams, social services teams, discipline teams, CBC teams, etc. He stresses the importance of "team management" with his resource teacher and with the faculty so that "if a crisis arises, someone will feel responsible." He claims that an open-door policy exists at Monroe and that "we do most things here as a group." Almost all committee meetings (including the Teachers Corps project NAP team) take place around a large conference table in his office. He is the only principal in this project who is present at all NAP team meetings in his school. His influence (or control) is therefore quite high and at least one project staff member stated that decisions can be made fairly quickly at Monroe because the principal is "in the room" (although not necessarily "at the table"). Mr. Roberts has also been particularly active on the project's Policy Board and as a participant in the Administrative Staff Development Workshops.

There is an easy-going, relaxed, and pleasant atmosphere at Tyler. Mr. Roberts was variously described as "very approachable," "humanistic," "sweet to kids," "very involved," "wants to see his teachers grow," "concerned," and "open, but says what he wants do do." He obviously enjoys his job. He likes being a principal of an elementary school and enjoys the closeness with the students. When asked by a teacher in another school (after a meeting which both attended) if becoming certified as an administrator was "worth it," he answered, "definitely."

Mr. Roberts has some frustrations, however, about his job and about his role. Many of these he attributes to the limitations placed on a principal's potential effectiveness by the increasing influence of teachers' unions. Such constraints include increased difficulty in firing incompetent teachers, and restrictions on the use of teachers' time that have been incorporated into union contracts. For example, most committee meetings and many voluntary within-school workshops must take place during lunch or recess periods, a requirement that often presents difficulties during winter months when students must remain indoors. Mr. Roberts is also frustrated by the low level of active parent participation in the school--a problem he is actively trying to solve through the parent involvement component of Teacher Corps.

Mr. Roberts is very loyal to other principals as a group (referring to them as "the last group of dedicated individuals"), and to the regional superintendent. The region has produced many proposals resulting in federal programs and a number of these involve a lot of time and paperwork on his part. While he resents some of this extra work, he says that "principals have to realize that to get services for one's school, you must put up with paperwork and meetings." He is willing to do so "up to a point" and will turn down programs that he cannot support. Mr. Roberts also complained of "administrator burnout." With all the problems in education and with they many innovative programs in schools, the principal has been "the forgotten person." "If you can get the principal to get out of the building without the school falling down, you avoid principal burnout."

Mr. Ellison

Mr. Ellison is the principal of Dean, a junior high school with an enrollment of 624 pupils in grades 7 through 9, this enrollment represents a 33% decline from the time of the Teacher Corps proposal two years ago. There are two assistant principals in the school and a variety of other support and special staff. The building is located on a busy thoroughfare near the center of the city, in a neighborhood that is experiencing change; parts of it are areas of high poverty while other parts are undergoing gentrification. The school building itself was built in the 1950s and is fairly well equipped and air conditioned.

Dean Junior High School has a reputation of having many behavior and discipline problems that require the special attention of school administrators, and often take priority over administrator involvement in and emphasis on the instructional aspect of their role. A large number of the students live in the three different housing projects in the neighborhood. Rivalry among the different community groups has extended into the school; thus, there is often a great deal of factionalism and fighting among the students that occurs in the building. Building administrators spend a great deal of time monitoring the halls—particularly at the beginning and end of the school day.

Mr. Ellison is new to the school this year (1979-1980), and is really "acting principal." The official principal is on leave due to illness, and

is expected to retire formally at the end of this year. It is not clear that Mr. Ellison will be given permanent assignment as principal of Dean. The precariousness of his situation presents some confusion about the extent of his authority within the school, and about the extent to which he feels comfortable exerting leadership.

Mr. Ellison had previously been both an assistant principal and a principal of a junior high school in another region within the city. He had been dismissed from his position as principal after a series of difficulties with the region's superintendent which culminated in an unsatisfactory rating. With the assistance of the city's principals' union, he successfully fought his dismissal over the next couple of years; and was given the assignment at Dean to fill the temporary vacancy created by the illness of the incumbent principal.

Mr. Ellison came into a building in which there were many ongoing problems; Ellison "inherited" the Teacher Corps project that he neither initiated nor planned. He has, however, expressed active support for the Teacher Corps project and is very pleased with it. By participating actively in Teacher Corps activities, Mr. Ellison is gaining visibility among the other principals and administrators at the regional office. Although he is functioning as if he were the permanent principal, most of his staff have expressed a "wait and see" attitude toward his effectiveness. Many had expressed hope that new leadership in the school would bring about dramatic improvement, but as yet most are not convinced that Mr. Ellison has exerted sufficient leadership to solve the serious problems of the school. Several teachers commented that it may be too early to evaluate his performance.

Thus, Mr. Ellison was assigned a "troubled" junior high school, and was also faced with having to "prove himself" given his past history in the district. It is evident that Mr. Ellison is trying to "do the right thing"; a view expressed by both teachers in the school and by the project staff who are working with him. In many ways it would appear that he is anxious to not "rock the boat." (As a matter of fact, the regional superintendent stated that any such temporary principalship is really just a holding action.) Mr. Ellison seems also to be trying to solidify his position in the district by cooperating with several district-wide or region-wide efforts such as Teacher Corps.

Mr. Ellison emphasized that his first priority as a building principal is to "maintain a positive learning environment and building tone." He says he attempts to do this by emphasizing the positives. "Everyone needs stroking," he said and when working with teachers and pupils he tries to be humanistic and pleasant. On the other hand, he expressed a rather firm attitude toward discipline, and said that certain pupil behaviors would be met with "logical consequences." A particular issue that required a lot of attention was the tardiness problem. Prior to Ellison's arrival at Dean, the records showed a very high rate of absenteeism and tardiness for that school. However, recently that record has changed. This was accomplished by a fairly simple adjustment of how records are kept. Mr. Ellison discovered that many pupils who had arrived "tardy" had been marked absent in their homeroom period and therefore were on the records as being absent for the rest of the day. He revised the mechanism for recording tardiness and absenteeism and thereby created a situation where the school's absentee rate has declined significantly in official terms; Mr. Ellison stated that the school received a district-wide certificate for having the lowest rate of absenteeism in the district.

Mr. Ellison views his role as primarily one of "instructional leader." In practice, however, he delegates a lot of the instructional program responsibilities to one of the assistant principals, and he spends a lot of his time both on disciplinary problems and on other administration requirements in minute detail (i.e., checking forms, reviewing particular forms on teacher assessments, responding to teachers about their needs for filling out those forms, doing some teacher assessments, etc.) Mr. Ellison feels that teacher morale in the school is fairly high and he believes teachers feel that he is supportive of them. Teachers do seem to be giving him a chance, but are continuing their "wait and see" attitude. Mr. Ellison stated that he usually leaves the door of his office open because he "wants the staff and students to know I'm here and available." He feels one of the main needs of the school is for structure and for improvement in classroom management, and that it is his function to supervise, and not "tyranize." He claims he has good two-way communication with his staff, after a faculty meeting he quoted a teacher as saying, "You say exactly what's on your mind. You teach us." He feels that

teachers are comfortable approaching him with individual problems and requests, often seeking his support when they have problems with students.

Although Mr. Ellison stated that a new principal in a school "doesn't change things right away; [he] must study it first and draw up a plan," he seems to have made some rather critical decisions along the way. He apparently had been having difficulty with frequent appearances in the building of the former principal. He felt this presented too much confusion for faculty and staff about "who was in charge here" and so he requested that the former principal not come into the building during the school day. He also appears to have had several clashes with one of his assistant principals, and he is uncertain whether the two can continue to work together.

Mr. Ellison expressed support for and satisfaction with the presence of the Teacher Corps project in his school, as well as with the resources and workshops the project provides. Although he has formally delegated responsibility and authority for scheduling the Teacher Corps activities at Dean to one of the assistant principals, in fact most of the activities are coordinated by the teacher who is chairperson of the in-school NAP team. This teacher is widely respected by staff in the school and in many ways has been the mainstay of the Teacher Corps project in the school.

In sum, Mr. Ellison is a complex man. He is soft spoken, appears concerned, gives the appearance of trying to reach out to other principals, to the teachers, and to the pupils. On the other hand, he is struggling to maintain his position. His influence in the school has not really "taken hold" yet.

Dr. Karten

Dr. Karten is principal of Lowell Junior High School, which has an enrollment of approximately 800 pupils. In contrast to Dean, the other junior high in the project, Lowell is on a quiet side street in an older building, and has an extremely calm, orderly and quiet atmosphere. The school exudes a sense of order and stability. While the halls are very bare and clean, several of the multi-purpose rooms, such as the library, are very bright and well decorated. Lowell does not seem to be afflicted with some of the discipline and behavior problems that are apparent at Dean.

In part, this can be attributed to the school's location--it is not on a busy main street and so access to it by outsiders who may cause disruptions is limited. In part, it is also due to its slightly different student population--although there are some students from poverty or low-income areas at Dean, the school is also drawing at least some students from a more middle-class population.

Lowell has also had a reputation for many years for being a "good" junior high school. There are a variety of innovative programs in the school, many initiated by individual teachers who are encouraged by the principal to write proposals for special grants. (One such special program in the school is for gifted and talented children.) Given the open enrollment policy in the district, it is likely that a self-selection process occurs. Dr. Karten is also well established in the district, and it was suggested that she has the "clout" to recruit and retain the staff she wants.

Dr. Karten has two assistant principals, and although she delegates a lot of responsibilities and activities to them, she does maintain a substantial amount of influence and control over the entire school program, including the instructional program, the extracurricular activities, and relations with staff and students. She has introduced a parental involvement component, "Parents as Teacher Helpers," into the classrooms.

Dr. Karten gives her staff a lot of support, but she also demands a great deal from them. When she interviews a new teacher, she specifically asks what else they can do besides "teach." She expects them to contribute a great deal to the school in addition to what is involved in the delivery of instruction in the classroom. As mentioned earlier, she encourages teachers to write individual proposals for special grants and projects. While she expects them to work hard, she demonstrates appreciation for this and affords them many opportunities for growth. She was especially interested in having Teacher Corps come into her school, which occurred at the beginning of the second year of the program, because she felt it would benefit her teachers. Her soft spokenness and unpretentious manner belie her obvious leadership and management skills.

There appears to be strong mutual respect between the staff and Dr. Karten at Lowell. She was quoted by one teacher as being "very

democratic in her thinking, not arbitrary." The faculty at Lowell School is very involved both in extracurricular as well as a curricular activities. (For example, at the Christmas assembly there was a faculty gospel choir that performed as well as a student gospel choir.) The orderliness of the school is reflected in the manner in which assemblies are conducted. It is said that when the students march into the assembly hall there is hardly a sound.

Dr. Karten had expressed interest in becoming involved in the Teacher Corps project during the proposal stage, but at that time was told the school was not eligible because it did not meet the low-income requirements. She was very pleased to be included the following year. "As long as test scores are below national and city norms and there are absentee problems, we look for more resources," she says. She has talked with the faculty about the potential benefits and spinoffs they would get from involvement in the Teacher Corps projects. In introducing the program, she told the teachers it was an honor to be selected because they were identified as good models for the interns in the Teacher Corps project.

Dr. Karten appears to be an influential and concerned leader, though not always in a very obvious manner. For example, although she does not meet with the NAP team directly, after each NAP team meeting the leader reports to and discusses the meeting with her. Although soft-spoken, when she walks through the halls, she exudes a sense of quiet authority, and the students respond accordingly. Though the school is quite large, Dr. Karten appears to know many of the students personally. Her reputation is also well-known in the region, in the district, and in the educational community. She has published articles on black education and has taught courses at the local university.

Mr. Benson

Mr. Benson is principal of Lincoln, a large, comprehensive high school with an enrollment of about 1,500 pupils. His staff includes three assistant principals, 77 regular classroom teachers, and 11 other educational personnel. The school curriculum offers a wide variety of courses, including special programs in humanistic studies, pre-engineering and pre-architecture, business education, and also has affiliations with special programs offered through several nearby universities.

The school building itself is a large, imposing structure built in 1923 and in need of modernization (for which plans are currently underway). It is located on a main thoroughfare of a residential neighborhood which, like many other inner city neighborhoods, is a mix of run-down, recently renovated, and newly-built structures. The school is located only one block from Lowell Junior High but being on a main thoroughfare has made it very accessible to "people off the street," a characteristic which has forced the school to implement many security precautions. The school has been troubled by several instances of vandalism (and frequent bomb threats), and some of these have been attributed to outsiders who come into the building.

Lincoln High School has suffered from a widely-held bad reputation, recently exacerbated by the bad coverage it received when a major city newspaper ran a series of articles deploring what was happening at the school. There have been many attempts to improve the situation in the school, including the regional superintendent's push for inclusion of the school in the current Teacher Corps program (the other high school in the region had been a Teacher Corps school in an earlier cycle). The problems of discipline, vandalism, and absenteeism in the school seem to overshadow the instructional problems.

Mr. Benson came to the school in the middle of the first year of the project (the planning year). His previous experience consisted of six years as an assistant principal in a moderately sized junior high school in the district. He is the fourth principal at Lincoln in ten years. One of the assistant principals, who had been at the school for several years and is quite popular with the staff, was acting principal for a half year before Mr. Benson came to the school; she is currently continuing in her role as assistant principal and has been delegated many of the responsibilities for staff development and for the instructional program. Most of the staff continue to look to her for guidance.

Mr. Benson is rather young for his job (early to mid-30s), and is a former graduate of the school. Many of the staff at Eastern have been there for a long time and include teachers who were there when Mr. Benson was a student; many remember him from his student days, and Mr. Benson seems to enjoy the prestige of being principal at the school where he had been a student. Although he shares responsibility for instructional decisions with

assistant principals and departments heads, he appears to be quite overwhelmed by the responsibilities of managing such a large school. He is said to "cloister himself in his office," in which he has a large desk piled high with papers.

Mr. Benson complains about the many hours he must spend on all the administrative details of his job (sometimes staying in his office until 8 or 10 in the evening), and much of his time seems to be filled with activities and interruptions that could be taken care of by a clerical assistant. For example, the public address system is located in his office and people are constantly coming in to make announcements or asking him to make announcements for them. (Of all the project schools, each of which has a public address system, it was most frequently used in the high school.) He answers his own phone, including responses to public address system requests. The xerox machine, which is used frequently, is also located in his office. As in many other large high schools, people are constantly making requests to meet with him and he seems eternally backed-up in his appointments. Although he appears well-meaning and stresses the importance of the role of the principal as an educational leader, he does not seem to possess as yet the kind of organizational skills that the school apparently needs.

Mr. Benson expressed strong support and praise for his staff, though he did allude to recent problems with the teachers' union. Teachers appear to operate quite independently in the school, and if they do look for leadership, they look more to the assistant principal who has been in the school longer than Mr. Benson. He explains this by saying, "This is not a case where administrators can tell teachers what to do. You must share the load in terms of the normal operations of the school and in terms of student and building discipline."

Despite these problems, Mr. Benson expresses pride in the school and in the school's participation in the Teacher Corps project. He claims to be very supportive of all the Teacher Corps activities, although he is not directly involved in most of the Teacher Corps activities at Lincoln. He does not attend NAP team meetings and the NAP team leader reports to him in writing (in contrast to the oral interactions or attendance at meetings that take place in the other project schools). He explains this by saying that it is sometimes better for teachers to meet independently and that the

presence of an administrator can be "intimidating." He feels that "good things" are happening within his school because of the Teacher Corps project, although he was unable to be more specific about Teacher Corps activities without referring to project-provided descriptions.

One of Mr. Benson's main goals and personal interests is to foster a good image of the school in the community. Indeed, community support was a primary factor in his appointment to the principalship. Mr. Benson noted that many community people, and especially guidance counselors at the local junior high schools, are not aware of the various special programs and course offerings that are available at the school. One of his recent projects was to foster a strong alumni association and a special Alumni Day, which took place in the school during December--an event he was especially proud of. He seems to draw more support from the community than from among the staff of his school.

Interactions Between Project and Principals

Many interactions, both formal and informal, take place between the project staff and the principals. Most of the formal interaction can be characterized as taking place at a horizontal level. All four principals are members of the project's Policy Board and at least three of the principals attend the Policy Board meetings regularly. Both Mr. Roberts (of Monroe Elementary) and Dr. Karten (of Lowell), who is new to the Policy Board this year, appear to be quite active on the Board, not only as advocates for project activities in their own schools, but as participants in project issues in general.

Furthermore, all the principals and many of the assistant principals have participated to a fairly substantial degree in the administrative workshops. If anything, there appears to be a growing response to participation in those sessions due both to the quality of the offerings, the impressive leadership of the University Facilitator assigned to this component, and the opportunity for the principals to meet and exchange ideas. In these workshops, once again, Mr. Roberts and Dr. Karten have been particularly active, although Mr. Ellison stated that this is the first time in sixteen years that he has, on a regular basis, willingly left his building during the school day. The opportunity for the principals to meet on a regular basis seems to have

filled a great void for them. Although all the principals in the region meet once a month at the regional office with the superintendent, those meetings are more administrative and less substantive in nature, and apparently provide less of an opportunity to learn and share issues, problems, and needs. At first, some of the principals were reluctant to take part in the Teacher Corps workshops, and thought that it was impossible for them to leave their buildings. Dr. Karten commented that like other principals, she always felt that she did not have time for such meetings. After coming to the workshops, however, she realized that she did in fact have the time and that she could leave her building without any serious consequences to the operation of the school. In fact, one of her assistant principals frequently attends these meetings with her. It is not that "role overload" is a myth, but rather that priorities can be set and even the busiest of building administrators can take the time for such activities. Furthermore, Mr. Roberts commented that the opportunity for such meetings is very important to prevent "principal burn-out."

The administrator workshops and principal participation on the Policy Board provide several benefits to the project. There are benefits to the principals themselves as well as benefits that accrue from the "flow" effect which disperses the benefits throughout their schools. Furthermore, principal involvement in Teacher Corps appears to legitimate the other components of project activities that take place in the schools. Participation in their "own" administrator workshops makes the principals feel more a part of the project; in a sense, they become "co-opted" by the project and are probably more willing to allow access to their schools by other kinds of Teacher Corps activities.

All principals in this project express strong support and praise for the project and its activities, although not all are equally involved in the Policy Board, in the administrator workshops, in working with their NAP teams, etc. Simple requests that project staff make of the principals to facilitate activities are almost always met. Such requests include announcing workshops over the public address systems in the schools, putting items in the school newsletters, preparing schedules of NAP team members so that they can all share the same planning period (this was done by the high school principal and was not an easy task because of complicated high school

schedules), providing a room in the building for the Teacher Resource Room, providing a mailbox, and a host of other small but important details.

The within-school interaction between the project and principals is less formal, however, and also more variable. In every case, project staff members solicited input from the building principals whenever they initiated a component within the school, such as bringing the interns in for observation or classroom involvement, scheduling in-service workshops, or soliciting suggestions (by the Human Services Coordinator) about the possibility of a volunteer program in the school. Mr. Roberts of the Elementary School was considered to be especially accessible to project staff members. He emphasized his desire for a volunteer program in his school and his was the first school in which planning for such an activity occurred. Of the four principals, he is the one who is most closely connected to the activities of the NAP team, since the NAP teams meetings are held in his office. He has, however, been fairly laissez-faire in his attitude toward some of the other project operations. For example, when the team leader asked for recommendations of teachers who the interns should observe, he gave them unlimited access to any classroom they chose without doing any pre-selection.

Dr. Karten of Lowell Junior High School does not attend NAP team meetings though she meets regularly with the NAP team leader. She has most actively "mustered" the resources of the project and has requested special programs that meet with her goals and objectives for her school. For example, when a facilitator asked her what kinds of resources or programs she would like to have, she requested several, including a workshop on proposal writing, and a values clarification session for her teachers because she is anxious to have them learn and apply their new skills in the school. She is apparently the only principal in the four project schools who have actively responded in this way. Furthermore, she requested that one of the administrative workshops on transactional analysis be repeated for her staff, and she agreed to the NAP team leader's request to conduct some of the Teacher Corps workshops during faculty meetings.

The two new principals who were not part of the initial planning, but whose schools were part of the initial three, have shown less involvement in the project. As mentioned earlier, Mr. Ellison of Dean Junior High School, has delegated most of the responsibility for the project within his school to

an assistant principal, who takes care of staff development and scheduling, and to the NAP team leader. While supportive of the project in concept and while cooperative with administrative requests (such as making announcements over the P.A. system, putting notices in the newsletter, etc.), Ellison is less active in the ongoing operations of Teacher Corps in his school. His newness to the school and the discipline and day-to-day management problems he faces mitigate against his more active involvement in Teachers Corps. And although he is not personally very involved in the Teacher Corps activities within Dean, the project still functions well there, mostly due to the skills of the highly-respected NAP team leader. In this case, the project does not seem to suffer because of the principal's lack of active involvement. He himself, however, does appear to be personally benefitting from contact with the other principals and with district and university personnel on the Policy Board.

The principal who probably interacts with the project the least is the high school principal, Mr. Benson. He has delegated responsibility for project activities within his school to an assistant principal. He has, however, expressed support and praise for the project and, while not actively involved, has not impeded any of the activities within the high school. On the other hand, he does not appear to have lent any leadership to project activities, nor has he seen it as an opportunity to muster resources to achieve personal goals or solve some of the problems in his school.

In general, once a project such as this one is legitimated in the schools (which was accomplished very successfully here through the incentives provided to principals), many of the project activities are carried on through the efforts of the external facilitators and the teacher teams. Indeed, all four principals--even those who are most actively involved--commented that they are especially grateful to this project because it did not demand too much of their time. "They know we're busy, so they come into the school and offer their services, and work directly with the teachers."

In general, the project maintains a low profile in the schools and the principals are not threatened by the presence of these outside resources. They were very surprised at the offers of assistance and at the fact that the assistance they requested "came through." Much of this low profile was a deliberate strategy on the part of the project designers. Consequently,

there has been very little conflict or confrontation between project and schools, or between project staff and principals. When project staff members have made special requests of principals (e.g., recommending cooperating teachers for the interns, making announcements, facilitating a schedule, etc.), those requests have been honored. At least one NAP team expressed disappointment that more was not offered to them directly. They did not realize "that they would have to do so much of the work themselves." Such a process takes a lot of time and is still moving fairly slowly. There appears to be a slow build-up of project activities within the schools. Both the teachers and the principals are gaining greater facility in asking for help that the project staff might provide, and in making decisions about what the staff development activities ought to be.

Whether the involvement of principals in the project makes a difference is still unclear. As far as the ongoing day-to-day project activities in the school are concerned, the role of the principal is still fairly undefined. The main impact of the project on the principals' role thus far, has been in their relationship to other principals and in their relationship to the regional district. The principals have fostered more teacher involvement in terms of the NAP team activities and in terms of their willingness and ability to design and implement their own staff development programs. Their communication with other principals, particularly in the administrator workshops and on the Policy Board, may ultimately create new visions, new needs, and, for some, an improved self-concept. These outcomes can have only positive ramifications in terms of the Teacher Corps goals within the schools, particularly if the "flow" concept really works.

## THE "METROPOLIS"* PROJECT

Joanne Jastrzab

The Walter College Teacher Corps project is centered around two public schools--Newton Elementary and Adams Elementary. Both schools and the college are located in the eastern part of the country in the inner city of a major metropolitan area which we will call Metropolis. The majority of the population living in the school district is low-income and minority--either black or Spanish-surnamed. The city's public school system is decentralized with smaller "community districts" being the major administrative units; the community district associated with this Teacher Corps project is known as East Heights. In contrast to most Teacher Corps projects that involve a feeder school system, both of the schools in this project are K-8 elementary; there are no public high schools in the community district.

Tom Robinson, one of the project's co-directors, said that the "official" reason these two schools were chosen for participation in the project was that, at the time of the proposal writing, they were the only two schools in the district that extended beyond the traditional K-6 elementary; he added that other factors were also considered in the choice. Because of his previous role as program coordinator at the district office, Robinson had a history of working with principals and school staffs. Robinson felt that both principals from these two schools were cooperative and that he could work with them effectively on a Teacher Corps project. (He cited another principal whose school he eliminated from consideration because Robinson did not feel that he would be a positive influence on the project.) Robinson added that although there are some similarities between the principals of the project schools--both are white males in predominately minority schools--there are significant differences both between the principals and their schools that affect the relationship each has with the Teacher Corps project. Both principals, however, have been actively involved with the project from the beginning; their involvement has contributed to the success of this project so far and has already led to the development of local ownership of the project.

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*All names of places and individuals are pseudonyms.

## The Principals and the Project Schools

Mike Grey is principal of Adams Elementary, also known as the "Century School" because the building is almost 100 years old. The five-story brick building is poorly maintained with fading and peeling paint in many areas and a heating system that sometimes fails in mid-winter causing students to be sent to neighboring schools for days at a time. The school has been on the list of schools slated for closing by the city for the past several years because of its age, space under-utilization, and high maintenance costs per square foot. According to Grey, because the school has been slated to be closed, the city is unwilling to make much of a financial investment there in terms of repair and maintenance work. Enrollment at Adams Elementary is low, currently about 400 students, and represents a 50% decline from ten years ago. Enrollment is dropping steadily every year.

In recent years student achievement at Adams Elementary has also declined. Although it was near the top of the district in reading scores several years ago, the school is now at the bottom of the list. As a result, the district which had mandated an increased emphasis on reading throughout the district added special requirements at Adams Elementary, where students are required to have an additional reading period every day in order to better prepare themselves for the standardized test that will be administered in the spring.

The district's response to the city's inclusion of Adams Elementary on the impending closing list has been to move a number of special programs or alternative schools into the physical building and thereby increase enrollment. At present, Adams Elementary includes four different programs or mini-schools, including a unique history program developed by Grey and some of the teachers in the school.

Because the director of three of the four special programs report both to the district coordinator for their respective programs and to Grey as principal of Adams Elementary, the authority structure within the school is often unclear. Grey's own position on control of his school seems to be changing. He maintains that until recently he liked to think of Adams Elementary as one school; he viewed it as a "school that treated things with a oneness--a child is a child, regardless of the program he or she is in." However, during the 1979-80 school year, Grey made what he considers a radical change in this thinking and now recognizes the school as being comprised of independent program components. Grey said that the impetus for

this change in his thinking came from the district and its emphasis on alternativism. The district is beginning to view Adams as an "alternative building"; at least one additional program will open there in the fall of 1980. Grey recognizes that the change will also mean a change in the role of principal--a change that he admittedly has to get his "own head together about first." Grey views the change in his role as a change from leader to facilitator--an attitude that is contrary to the more traditional philosophy of a building as an educational community under the direction of a single leader.

Grey's relationship with the directors of the alternative programs in his school is problematic at times, and he admits that both the special education and bilingual programs staffs would opt for total independence from his control if they had the opportunity. An incident occurred recently at the school that sheds some light on Grey's relationship with the school programs and the district. The director of the special education program was leaving to take another job in the district. Grey was aware of her plans to leave and, because his relationship with the director had been rocky, was looking forward to the change in the hope that he would be able to work more effectively with the new director. The interviewing and final selection process for the replacement director took place during the two months before our second visit to the site. Grey was aware that the selection process had been going on at the district office, and was sensitive to his being excluded from it. Nevertheless, he did not make any attempt to get actively involved with the process.

Even though he was not entirely pleased with the district's choice for the new program director, Grey did not contest the final appointment, although he had wanted to. When we asked the superintendent about the selection process for the program director he said the exclusion of Grey was "a screw-up on the part of someone in the district office; there was never any doubt that Grey was to be involved, his name just got left off a list and people forgot." The superintendent maintained such mix-ups are occasionally inevitable and that it was Grey's responsibility to take the initiative and contact the district to make sure that he was included in the process.

Grey has been at Adams Elementary since 1968, when he came as assistant principal; he had previously been a teacher. When the principal became ill,

Grey was appointed acting principal for several years until he became full principal in 1977. Grey recalls that when he first assumed the role of acting principal, he was reluctant to make any changes in the operation of the school or to alter his own role in the school. In fact, for a while he attempted to run the school from his assistant principal office on the third floor until he found that this was impossible.

Grey is viewed as a principal who is very thoughtful, concerned about the members of his staff and very caring about children. He knows many of the children by name. Parents feel comfortable coming into the school. But Grey has found difficulties in dealing with both central administration and members of his staff who he feels are not doing a good job. As a result, although many of the teachers like him and staff morale has not been a major problem, some find his support of staff to be inconsistent or his style of leadership too passive.

A teacher who has been in the school for over 15 years commented that Grey would make a better teacher than principal. She said he really likes interacting with the children although she noted that Grey visits classrooms much less frequently than he used to and all-staff meetings are rare. One teacher commented that Grey likes to maintain an image of participative management and informality; however, he "gets upset when unwritten rules aren't followed yet doesn't make any attempt at formalizing them."

Grey's reputation outside the school is that of a principal who, for reasons that are unclear, "stopped caring about two years ago." Some people mentioned, for example, that similar buildings administered by different principals are in much better condition. Grey is apparently reluctant to make decisions about critical issues that affect his school. Robinson says about Grey, "He's more interested in content than style; he downplays structure and discipline. He says good things but then doesn't always carry them through." Robinson says that after the initiation of the Teacher Corps project, he found out that neither Grey nor the teachers really wanted to introduce outside resources into the school and were initially reluctant to do so to any significant extent. Because Grey did not directly say "stay out, I don't really want to be involved," Robinson was unaware of how Grey felt. However, despite this initial reluctance, project activities have been well received in the school and have been willingly fostered by Grey.

In contrast to Adams Elementary both in terms of style and appearance, and although only a few blocks away, Newton Elementary is known as the "Beverly Hills School of the Heights." Enrollment is over 1,000 students and rising. Although the district has an open-enrollment policy, Bob Rollins, the principal, will refuse any student who is not from the immediate neighborhood if he feels that the addition would have negative consequences for class size; residents from the neighborhood are required to bring notarized statements verifying that their address is within the school neighborhood. The three-story contemporary school building is seven years old, and was largely designed by Rollins himself. Most of the classrooms are "open" and have plenty of space. Considering its neighborhood, the school is remarkably free of graffiti or other signs of abuse.

Like Adams, Newton Elementary also consists of four separate programs; however, the general impression is that Newton Elementary is much more of a unified school than Adams Elementary which seems more like a collection of parts that are merely housed in the same space. For example, Rollins insists that teachers from the special programs work with other teachers and whenever possible include students from the regular program in special projects and events.

Nevertheless, the one alternative program housed in the building is not officially part of Rollins' jurisdiction and the events leading up to the current division of responsibility illustrate Rollins' behavior as principal. When the Alternative School opened in the new Newton Elementary building, it was set up to function as part of the rest of the school, but with its own director. A series of "turf battles" arose between the director and Rollins and the director began a series of initiatives at the district level aimed at gaining independence for the Alternative School from the rest of Newton Elementary. Because independence for the program was in keeping with the district policy of autonomous alternative programs, the superintendent decided that the program should be independent of Newton Elementary and Rollins. Rollins, however, not did accept the decision without initiating a major battle. He maintained that he had acquired agreement from the superintendent that the program would be an integral part of his school before it opened, and he resisted letting it out of his control. In an unprecedented

move, that involved considerable personal risk, Rollins took the matter before the School Board where he lost; however, he "went down fighting." This incident indicates the importance Rollins attaches to maintaining control over his school--a characteristic recognized by nearly everyone we talked with.

Rollins makes a point of knowing exactly what is going on in his school at all times; he knows all of his teachers and most of the students by name. Rollins says he can delegate work but not responsibility, and he therefore insists on getting personally involved in all important decisions at the school. Although he admits he is somewhat hampered by the rules and regulations common to all school administrations, Rollins says he uses his own policy of "creative noncompliance" toward any district policy with which he disagrees. Facilitating this noncompliance is Rollin's relationship with the superintendent. Despite their serious and prolonged disagreement about jurisdiction over the Alternative School, Rollins says that he "has no doubt that he has 100% of the superintendent's support; if you want to do something right, he's gonna back you no matter what."

Although he believes it is important for the principal to be the instructional leader of the school, Rollins feels this is impossible, particularly for the principal of a large urban school, given the other demands on his time. He feels that the best he can hope for is to be personally involved in shaping the "instructional pattern" of the students. Rollins sees his role as a facilitator rather than an educational leader. He commented on the increasing role that politics plays in education and noted that the principals in the district are selected by a panel composed of School Board members and parents. He finds himself constantly invited to fund-raising dinners and banquets--invitations that he maintains he consistently turns down because he wants to minimize the role of politics in the operation of his school. Rollins does feel that community support and involvement is important and he spends a lot of time during the school day meeting with parents and often visits them in their homes at night. In addition, Rollins teaches one junior high math course himself in order to maintain familiarity with the frustrations of teachers and to get to know the students.

Rollins has been an educator for more than 20 years. He began as an elementary teacher in a neighboring community, then became an acting principal and later a licensed assistant principal. He was acting principal at another school in East Heights before Newton Elementary was built, and before be became a principal, Rollins was very active in the United Federation of Teachers. Although the school where he was acting principal before he came to Newton was an old building similar to Adams Elementary in physical appearance and age, it was, according to other sources, much better maintained than Adams Elementary and had many different resources and activities available. Similarly, Newton Elementary is well equipped with many resources obtained largely through Rollins' entrepreneurship and organizational skills.

The teaching staff at Newton Elementary generally has a great deal of respect for Rollins and his performance as principal. The only complaint we heard is that he tends at times to be abrasive in his dealings with his staff. Nevertheless, the predominately young and energetic staff does not hesitate to confront him on issues or go to him when they have a problem. All of the teachers we interviewed commented that Rollins is one of the most effective principals they've worked with. Among his qualities which they most respect are his leadership, positive attitude, consistent sense of organization, and sincere concern for the school and its students.

## The Project

The focus of the Walter College/East Heights School District Teacher Corps project is on "Arts and Humanities" and the goal is to use this focus to facilitate learning in other subjects such as math and science. The idea for the focus on Arts and Humanities was initially that of Susan Howard, a Teacher Corps headquarters staff person who suggested the idea to Tom Robinson. Robinson was at that time a member of Superintendent Alexander's staff at the district office and his primary responsibility was proposal writing. He had recently written the proposal for aother special program (currently operating in several East Heights schools including Newton and Adams Elementary). That program has a focus similar to that of the Teacher Corps project developed by Robinson and was largely the inspiration for it.

The identification of Walter College to work with the East Heights School District was a natural association; the district had worked with the college on an earlier project. Moreover, in Metropolis colleges and universities tend to become aligned with one or more school districts in the area neighboring their campus.

There is no doubt that the LEA took the lead in developing the proposal for the Teacher Corps project; the district had previously developed an elaborate arts project that had somewhat intimidated interested Walter College staff. The leadership and/or initiative demonstrated by Walter College was therefore not as strong as it might have been. For example, when choosing instructors for the Arts and Humanities workshops, district staff did not rely solely on Walter College faculty. Candidates proposed by the college were sometimes considered "not good enough" by the district staff; instructors from the district and surrounding community were selected to run some of the workshops while previous experience in working with arts programs in the schools facilitated identification of other qualified individuals. About 50% of the workshop leaders are members of the Walter faculty. Walter College's contribution to the project is mainly in the areas of IHE association, preservice training for interns, and some inservice support. The project is also physically housed in office space in the Walter College Department of Education.

Support from the superintendent and dean for the Teacher Corps project is attributable almost entirely to their confidence in the co-project directors, each of whom is associated with either the superintendent's office or the dean's office. Superintendent Tony Alexander commented that he is involved with the Policy Board because co-director Robinson asked him to be. Alexander admits that his own role in the project is minimal because he trusts Robinson; "The common thread [between Alexander and the project] is Tom Robinson; I rely on his judgment." Similarly, Dean Brown of Walter College stated that the Teacher Corps project, like other grants or studies within the college, is managed by the associated faculty member, in this case Dr. Linda Wallace, Chairperson of the Instuction and Curriculum Department. Brown mentioned that he is pleased with the way Wallace, as the project's other co-director, coordinates the project. He receives periodic progress reports from Wallace and is further updated at Policy Board meetings, but

like Alexander, he admits that he is not really involved in all of the project's activities.

Project activities center around a series of workshops begun in September 1979 and oriented toward encouraging teachers to integrate aspects of the arts and humanities into their teaching of other disciplines. These workshops, or "Strands," are organized according to content area such as dance, photography, or clayworks. During the first semester, the Strands focused entirely on the arts; recently several additional Strands were added in the area of the humanities. Strands meet about twice a month and since all faculty from both Newton and Adams Elementary are required to attend (a decision made by the principals who wanted to avoid charges of favoritism toward certain teachers), Strands meet either at lunchtime or during scheduled inservice times during the day. When the workshops are held during the day, students generally assemble in the school auditoriums and watch a movie paid for and selected by project staff.

During the first semester of the Strands' operation in the fall of 1979, the workshops focused on development of the individual teachers in their Strand area of interest. For example, in addition to workshop discussion on the uses of drama in classroom presentations, members of the theater Strand were given passes to local plays. The emphasis of the Strands during the fall of 1979 was on developing teachers' skills and confidence in the special art content area so that they would feel more comfortable about introducing it into their classrooms. At that time, the workshops were group oriented--with Strand leaders lecturing and demonstrating to groups of teachers. The Spring 1980 workshops, however, are expected to be more oriented toward classroom implementation of the techniques. Only one or two large workshops are planned, and Strand leaders will meet with individual teachers in their classrooms to demonstrate how to incorporate skills into the classroom.

At the end of the fall 1979 semester, some problems related to the Strands were noted. For example, some teachers signed up for Strands in content areas in which they were already experienced; these teachers often intimidated the more novice members of the workshop. In addition, the purpose of the Strands was unclear to many participants. Some teachers

admitted that they had difficulty understanding how the Strands were relevant to classroom teaching. As described by project staff, the purpose is to develop teacher skills in educating students and not merely to develop the teacher's own personal skills in a topic area. Nevertheless, project staff felt that it was necessary to develop personal skills in order for the teacher to feel comfortable enough with the content to introduce it into his or her class. By focusing the Strands in the classrooms during the spring semester, it is hoped that participants will see more clearly the relevance of the Strands to classroom teaching. This shift to a more individualized type of workshop was initiated because of the response to a teacher survey about the Strands. Teachers indicated that they felt somewhat confused about the Strands' relevance to classroom teaching. The teachers had also conveyed this confusion to the principals who strongly pushed for the shift toward in-class demonstrations.

Overall management of the project is shared by Wallace and Robinson. Wallace is responsible for liaison with the college, logistics for meetings, working with the Strand leaders, and general administrative tasks; Robinson does all of the coordination between the project and the schools, and between the project and the school district. Robinson is also responsible for much of the coordination of project staff, who he likes to think of as a team. He admits that "everyone acts as a go-for at times," although role expectations still dominate. Robinson works full time on the project; he is on leave from the district though he works as a consultant there. Wallace's commitment to the project during the second year is down to 25% of her time, with her academic responsibilities at the college taking up much of her time. Wallace's maintenance of good relations with the college and her authority there as a department chairperson contribute significantly to the success of the project's relationship to the college.

Other members of the project staff include two team leaders--Lucy Banner and Barbara Raye. Each of the team leaders is assigned to one of the schools where most of that team leader's time is spent in activities associated with Teacher Corps. The primary duties of the team leaders are to work with the interns and coordinate their program, deal with coverage issues and logistics for the workshops, and run the biweekly Strand leader meetings.

Raye also spends one day a week at the project office working as an administrative assistant. As a result her identification is somewhat split between the project and Adams Elementary, where she spends the rest of the week. In contrast, Banner spends all of her time at Newton Elementary, where she is considered a member of Rollins' staff.

In addition to the clerical support staff, another project staff member is a part-time documenter who started working in December. The previous documenter had been dismissed because the project's co-directors disagreed with his focus for the documentation. As a result of the transition between documentors, the lack of documentation of the project's history is a problem recognized by most people associated with it. Nevertheless, Robinson is working with the new documentor to reconstruct the previous two years of the project's history and hopes to publish it as a case study for use by similar projects.

Another significant aspect of the project includes the formation of the Community Council. Prior to the organization of the Council, no other community or parent organization associated with the schools existed in the district. In organizing the Teacher Corps Community Council, the project staff "didn't take any shortcuts." An extensive election campaign was organized that involved parents from both schools. The Community Council Chairperson is Maria Golenz, a teacher aide at Adams Elementary. Golenz complains that, although the members of the Community Council are cooperative and willing to take on specific tasks when asked, they often would rather let Golenz assume all the responsibility. Nevertheless, since its formation, the Community Council has achieved several important accomplishments. Parents are now taking a more active role in the schools. They are volunteering as lunchtime monitors at Adams Elementary and thereby relieving teachers of lunchtime responsibility for the children. Parents have also taken over a dilapidated room in the basement of Adams Elementary and are fixing it up with bright paint and decorations to serve as the Community Room.

The Community Council does not appear to be as active within Newton Elementary; one reason for this may be that Adams Elementary has more parent representatives on the Council. Moreover, parents apparently feel more com-

fortable spending social time at Adams Elementary during the day than they do at Newton. Golenz recalled how she first got involved at the school. When her youngest child started school she was lonely at home and went to the school with the child and "hung around." After a while, a friendly teacher pointed out a job opening at the school and encouraged Golenz to apply. Golenz says that other members of the community feel more comfortable at Adams Elementary than at Newton Elementary--"it's more like a family here." Again, the differences in community attitudes toward the schools are a function of the schools' climates. Adams Elementary is more accessible and relaxed. It is less organized and informal social groups are more significant there than formal ones. On the other hand, Newton Elementary appears more structured, formal, and professional; apparently parents find it hard to imagine going to Newton Elementary for purely social reasons; it is also unlikely that Rollins would allow such activity.

Two other groups serve as advisory panels for the project: the Policy Board and the larger Steering Committee. The Policy Board consists of the three individuals required by the Teacher Corps guidelines: the Commuinity Council Chairperson, Maria Golenz; the Superintendent, Tony Alexander; and the Dean of the College, Dean Brown. Despite pressure from Teacher Corps Washington and other sources to expand the size of the Policy Board, its members have voted to restrict its size to the three essential members; however, the project co-directors do attend the meetings even though they are not official members of the Board. The primary responsibility of the Policy Board, which meets once every other month, is to review the recommendations made by project staff, though in this role it serves more as a figurehead than as an active controller. The Board reviews decisions related to the budget and to the hiring of new personnel. The Board has never reversed the recommendations of the project directors; the only incident of disagreement between the Board and the directors resulted in the Board's reordering of the rankings of candidates for intern positions on the project.

Although he admits that contact with the other two Policy Board members is helpful in his role as superintendent, Alexander commented that "after you've been involved with projects like this for a while, you notice

that there are never any new problems--they're all the same from one project to the next." He feels that Teacher Corps is unrealistic in its expectations about the amount of time individuals such as superintendents or deans can give to the project. Dean Brown commented that if Policy Board members were more "up on" the activities of the project, they may have questioned more of the directors' recommendations (such as the white dominance of the project staff management). Nevertheless, Dean Brown trusts Wallace to make most of the project decisions, just as Superintendent Alexander trusts Robinson.

The Steering Committee consists of approximately 27 members including the two principals, the team leaders, the two project co-directors, teacher representatives, Strand leader representatives, community representatives, and the local union representative. The Steering Committee meets about once a month; the purpose of the meetings is to get input from the Committee members on the project's proposed activities. Although the Steering Committee was originally designed to play a purely advisory role, members of the Committee seem to be pushing for increased influence over the operations of the project. For example, the Committee has recently voted to adopt Robert's Rules of Order for its meetings, and has also recently selected a chairperson and a secretary to take minutes. The chairperson is June Walsh, a teacher from Newton Elementary. Her responsibilities are to chair the meeting and organize the agenda, including input from all Committee members.

Although the change in the procedures for the Steering Committee is relatively recent, most of the members we talked with were aware that a subtle power shift was occurring, and that power was shifting from the project's co-directors toward other individuals associated with the project. The shared decision making that will result is important for continuation of project activities after project staff have been phased out. However, such group decision making will require collaboration among the various constituencies that are represented by Committee members, and, given the differences of priorities among the various groups, this collaboration may not always come easily.

Another group also has significant control over the project: the "Big Six," consisting of the two principals, the two team leaders, and the

two project co-directors. These six individuals are crucial to the planning and coordination of all Teacher Corps activities in the schools. Although the "Big Six" originally met on an impromptu basis, it is now taking on a more formal role; this formalization of authority is a product of the principals' sophistication and high degree involvement in project activities and the recognition by project staff of the dependence of the project on the principals. The "Big Six" meet at least once every other week on decisions related to operating the project. Specifically, they consider what will happen in the schools and when. The "Big Six" also meet before the Steering Committee meetings to organize presentations and proposals to the larger group. Examples of decisions made by the Big Six are those related to compliance of Teacher Corps activities with the guidelines of the union contracts, use of teacher preparation periods, and access to buildings after hours for Teacher Corps purposes.

Project/Principal Interaction

There's little doubt that the principals from Adams and Newton Elementary were actively involved in the Teacher Corps project from the beginning. The choice of schools and their associated principals for participation in the project was made before the decision was made to involve Walter College. Robinson says that he was sensitive to the principal issue in developing the proposal and that the choice of schools for participation in the project was largely affected by his feelings about working with specific principals. Robinson continued, "the principal is the major, the key figure in the school system; he is the ultimate decision maker about what will happen in the schools; teachers will respond to the principal when they won't respond directly to the project staff." The two principals, along with the other members of the "Big Six"--Robinson, Wallace, and the two team leaders--are the key decision makers on the Teacher Corps project.

The pattern of strong principal involvement in the project is more consistent in this project than in any of the other three projects we looked at for this study. Several factors may account for this extensive principal involvement:

- The Metropolis school system is in general quite sophisticated and powerful at the local school level; the principals have more discretion here than at other sites in determining whether or not their schools will participate in projects such as Teacher Corps.
- The project directors are confident in their roles in the project and are receptive to new ideas. Although they have a strong commitment to the success of the project, both are involved in other activities in the LEA and/or college and their egos therefore are not excessively tied to their perceived importance on the project.
- This project involves only two schools which may make it more manageable and easier to coordinate than those at other sites. Moreover, both schools in the project are elementary and have many of the same kinds of concerns (in contrast to the differences in climate and structure that exist between urban elementary and high schools).
- Both schools are currently participating in many similar projects funded at the national and local levels. Both principals had experience in working with projects similar to Teacher Corps and knew what to expect from it.
- Rob Rollins is a strong personality who tends to dominate any group. His assertiveness serves as a kind of role model for Grey who in turn feels a responsibility to compete somewhat with Rollins because their roles in the district are so similar.
- Robinson's previous experience with similar projects at the LEA level may have made him more sensitive to principals' concerns and to their influence over successful project implementation.

The involvement of the principals has been evident from the beginning of the project. Both principals agreed to participate in the project because they trusted Robinson; they liked the idea of additional resources coming into their schools and the opportunity for staff development this provided. In addition, Grey was interested in the Arts and Humanities focus because he thought it would supplement the school emphasis on basic skills.

The decision to make Teacher Corps participation mandatory for all teachers in the building was made jointly by both principals early in the project; through that policy decision, the principals hoped to minimize the accusations of favoritism which they felt would arise if they selected only a few teachers for involvement. By committing their entire faculties to the project, the principals significantly affected the potential for impact

within the schools. Nevertheless, the mandatory participation decision has not been totally enforced at both schools. The special education teachers at both schools have refused to attend the sessions because they are dissatisfied with the alternative learning experiences provided for the students when the teachers attend Strands. In addition, the time commitments and difficulties involved in attending sessions can be significant--Strands are held in both schools; however, only one Strand is held for each content area and as a result teachers must often go from one school to the other for workshops. The walk is only several blocks but it has proven to be especially annoying on rainy or cold days. Both principals have made exceptions to the general rule of mandatory attendance for teachers. For example, the principals have sometimes allowed teachers whom they feel are already skilled in the content areas to miss workshops. The number of teachers who are exempted from the mandatory attendance rule seems to be increasing and, as the program orientation moves in the direction of one-to-one training in individual classrooms, the number of teachers actively involved in the project is likely to decline.

Both Grey and Rollins are withholding their final assessments of whether the project meets their initial expectations for impact within the schools. Our visit took place midway during the first year of implementation, and the principals felt it was too early at that time to make such a judgment. However, both principals feel that, compared to similar projects, the amount of time taken up by the project is excessive. Both spend an average of several hours a week on project-related activities. Thus, principals in this project seem to have a larger share of control over the project when compared to their counterparts in the other projects we visited.

This sharing of control and distribution of power is particularly reflected in the activities of the Steering Committee. The Steering Committee was organized early in the project by project staff to insure that all role groups associated with the project--teachers, principals, interns, community Strand leaders from the college and from other sources, and project staff members--were involved in the planning process and were kept aware of activities.

As noted earlier, the Steering Committee meets about once a month for two hours and until recently was informally chaired by one of the Teacher Corps co-directors. A variety of items were discussed at each meeting and decisions were made dealing with such items as topics for the Strands, session times, and locations. The size and diversity of the group (22-29 members in attendance), the number and variety of topics discussed, and the lack of adequate meeting management led to a slow decision process that often took several meetings and that often were not very productive, much to the dismay of those attending. The lack of organization of these meetings was especially annoying to Rollins who undertook a series of subtle moves to impose his control on the meetings.

As a first step toward organizing the meetings last winter, Rollins began to summarize the meetings in the form of a memo to serve as a discussion piece for subsequent meetings. Rollins' summaries of the meetings were of some concern to the project directors because they felt that the summaries weren't always objective and tended to lead the discussion in the direction of Rollins' own bias. Rollins maintained that he never claimed that the summaries were objective. (After all, he "had his name printed on the summaries as recorder.") He just wanted to "get something down on paper so that people could react to it; nine times out of ten if they see it on paper they tend to go along with it." By using the minutes of the previous meeting as an agenda, Rollins was subtly imposing an organization on the flow of discussion in the meetings. Items that he placed toward the end of the minutes tended to get resolved quickly or were totally ignored; he might describe a series of alternative solutions in a manner that would show his choice in a more favorable light.

Rollins' next step in exerting influence over the meetings was to suggest and obtain group approval for the adoption of Robert's Rules of Order and to push for election of a chairperson and secretary by the Committee membership.

The net result of the change in meeting structure is difficult to assess at this time. However, there does appear to be a trend in the distribution of power away from the project directorship toward the Steering Committee members, and, in particular, toward Rollins. Although recognizing

that local ownership is necessary for project continuation, the project directors are concerned about the more immediate impact of the change on the functioning of the project. Both principals have expressed a desire to see the project provide more direct services to students as well as teachers--a goal which is less consistent with the usual Teacher Corps approach. A major area of concern is the budget, which had previously been controlled by the project directors with only minimal review by the Policy Board. Rollins wants the Steering Committee to have authority over all decisions including those related to the budget because he feels that the Policy Board has "abdicated responsibility--either the decisions get made by the directors or they don't get made at all." Rollins' concern for all aspects of the project is consistent with his early expectations about management of the project. "I thought that after the proposal was funded, the project directors would go back to their original duties and the principals would run the project in the schools." Rollins was a bit disappointed with the complicated set of interactions between role groups mandated by the project; this frustration with the division of authority continues and he recently told Wallace that she should "return to the college and let [him] run the project."

Reaction of other members to the change in meeting structure and authority is mixed; some members have adopted a "wait and see" attitude, not quite convinced that the change will stick or produce any significant differences. Most members seem to feel positively about the increased productivity of the meetings that is attributable to the more organized plan. Grey is less concerned about the power struggle going on within the Steering Committee; he is not interested in the politics of such situations. Rather, he likes to think of himself as a "purist," and his only concerns center around those that directly impact his school, not about budgets or money. He would be content to let the project directors make those kinds of decisions.

Another example of principal control over the project is illustrated by the role of the team leaders. In this project, unlike other Teacher Corps projects where one team leader is shared by all project schools, there is one team leader for each school. (One of the team leaders' salaries is paid for by the district--a request made by Robinson and agreed to by Alexander. The team leader is viewed as a benefit to the principal that is derived from the

project. She serves as a staff person for the principal in terms of planning Teacher Corps events in the school, making sure teachers attend the activities, checking on the availability of resources and supplies, and monitoring the interns. Because the distinction between Teacher Corps-related and other similar projects in the schools is not always clear, the team leader's responsibility often extends beyond Teacher Corps activities and he/she "helps out" by taking on other tasks which are not directly related to the project. Both principals were involved in the selection of the individuals for the role of team leaders. Rollins agrees that Banner was his first choice; she was already a teacher on the Newton Elementary staff and was previously responsible for coordinating similar programs. Rollins views Banner as a member of his personal staff. He says that if the project staff attempted to take her away from the school for even a couple of weeks to work at the project office he would fight the decision.

Grey's relationship with Raye is not as close. He commented that Raye was not his first choice for the role of team leader. Grey admits to some early communication problems which developed when he was working with Raye that he feels have been at least partly solved through the establishment of regular weekly meetings. Raye spends at least one day a week away from Adams Elementary working at the project office and, as a result, her allegiance is more closely tied to the project than to the school. The rationale behind her time away from the school is that since Adams Elementary is much smaller than Newton Elementary, it doesn't require as much of a team leader's time. Grey is not pleased with the fact that Raye spends time away from the school but has not "got around to" mentioning it to the project directors.

In general, the high degree of principal involvement in the management of the project appears to be continuing, with Rollins characteristically leading the push for more control, and Grey following the lead, although a bit more hesitantly. Both principals simultaneously came up with a proposal to use the Teacher Corps workshops to fulfill the schools' compliance with the district's mandatory half-day inservice teacher training for the district-wide mainstreaming program. The Strand leaders will conduct this training, working with the principals and the mainstreaming program coordinators in each school. Although the proposal to use the Strand leaders came from the principals, the project

staff readily went along with it, seeing the opportunity as a way to foster Teacher Corps goals such as multi-cultural education and improved school climate. The fact that the principals initiated the idea suggests that the networking effect between the various components of the project is taking hold and is not dependent on project staff.

At the time of this writing, project staff are working on the proposal for the project's third year of funding. A supplementary proposal is also being developed by project staff that would bring additional resources in the areas of Basic Skills into the schools. While most members of the Steering Committee expressed moderate interest in the proposal (i.e., they were interested in reviewing the final draft but were content to let the project directors develop the proposal themselves), Rollins expressed an active desire to influence the proposal and its associated plan for year three. Rollins was more than willing to accept resources for his school--but he wanted to define the resources and how they would be used.

In contrast, Grey did not express a desire to become overly involved in the plans for the third year of funding. He thought that, for the most part, the next year would be "more of the same" with some modifications resulting from the experiences of the first two years. However, Grey did express some concern about the supplementary proposal and said that he wanted an opportunity to think about the implications before agreeing to it. He was particularly concerned about the introduction of even more resources into his school. "There are too many people helping too few teachers at Adams Elementary now; with a few more resource professionals, I can send the regular teachers home." Grey may be concerned that, combined with the other problems at the school, management of additional resources in a school already heavily supplied with specialists may add to the confusion and not help solve the problems.

## Conclusion

The Walter College/Metropolis Teacher Corps project has seen significant changes and growth in the first year and a half of its existence. Looking ahead to the future, it is the author's prediction that the project will continue to change in the next few years--partly as a result of a natural

evolution process and partly, and more importantly, a result of the principals' having even more influence over project activities and shaping these activities to reflect what they believe are the important needs of their schools. This increased principal control reflects a growing awareness on the part of both principals and project staff of the dependency of the project on the principals both in terms of allowing the project continued access to their schools and providing the support for the project necessary for its success.

THE SOUTHERN RURAL PROJECT

Nancy Brigham

## The Context

Grant County,* is poor, predominantly black, and rural. The landscape in winter is a bleak and uninviting vista of sharecroppers' shacks and cotton fields full of stubble. It is fundamentalist religion country with churches every mile or so that are run-down and poor looking. One wonders who supports them at all. Many of the billboards along the roads have religious themes ("He died for you"). There are virtually no towns or villages--just an occasional crossroads with a gas station and a general store. There are few people to be seen on the road and even the traffic is composed mostly of trucks on their way through to somewhere else. The people appear to be isolated from almost every cultural happening in society. There are no movie theaters in Grant County--in fact, there are scarcely any drug stores for teenagers to loiter around.

Strong codes of behavior and ceremony dominate the society. There is unfailing politeness and people are cordial to each other and to outsiders. Pleasantries are exchanged at the beginning and the end of every conversation. Children are deferential to their teachers and teachers to their principals. White people and northerners are included in the circle of courtesy and deference but it is unlikely that any dirty linen is washed in front of outsiders.

## The Schools

Three of the nine schools in Grant County are involved in the Teacher Corps project. These schools are not only educational but cultural and social centers for the community as well. The high school, in particular, attracts overflow crowds to its athletic events. The band is outfitted in uniforms reminiscent of the guards at Buckingham Palace. The money for the uniforms was raised by the community which is very proud of the band and the band has been invited to play in places outside of the county. Although the three

*All names of people and places are pseudonyms.

schools in the project differ in some physical respects, they have in common several salient characteristics. They are all bare-bones "no frills" structures. Classrooms are arranged traditionally with seats in rows with teachers sitting either at the front or the back of the room. There are few special reading areas or extra books or wall displays. Lower Grant Elementary (K-8) is the older of the three schools and has an enrollment of 399. Salk Elementary is a ranch-type structure of the 1950s with an enrollment of 450 students and is also K-8. The one difference in the physical impressions made by the two elementary schools is that art work or student displays at Salk tend to be inside the classrooms; at Lower Grant, murals and other displays are more prominent in the corridors. Harmony High School, built in 1956, has an enrollment of 456 students in grades 9-12. There is a main building and an annex, separated by an outdoor passage. The gym is the physical bright spot of the school.

The project was initiated through the Region VI Resource Center which is a regional consortium of 25 school districts. The participating districts contribute to the financial support of the center and in return receive a variety of resources and services. Specifically, the project was initiated by Joe Green who is director of the center and who has a background in Teachers Corps, having directed a project in an earlier cycle in Grant county. Green was primarily responsible for getting the project instituted and he continues to be, through his activities as project director, the major force behind the project. He sought out both the schools and the college (the IHE). Green's selection of the schools was based primarily on their "need for resources." Both the school principals and the superintendent were generally receptive. The principals knew of the previous Teachers Corps project in Grant County and of the resources it brought to the schools involved and they were, with one exception to be discussed later, excited by the project. The superintendent (who has now left the district) saw the project as good public relations and as "good" for his reputation with the public. As a white man in a black community, the opportunity to demonstrate his commitment to and concern for black schools was important. The new superintendent, also white, feels much the same way and is also supportive of the project. The project was thus born into a welcoming environment.

Joe Green, the project director, is a complex man and it is difficult to know what his reasons are for dedicating himself so wholeheartedly to this project. They seem to include his innate grantsmanship, his need to be in charge of something, and his missionary-like zeal to improve the lot of poor,black children of whom he says "society has failed them and the schools have failed them."

Green "drives" the project and sets its tone. He is the only white person on the staff and only one of two or three to be seen in the schools. He believes in ideals of cleanliness, godliness, patriotism, and hard work. He comes from a background of southern poverty and he says there is nothing shameful about being born in poverty but people ought to fight against staying poor. Joe is unfailingly punctual in a society where few others are. He is a "doer" and he wants everyone else to be one too. He is not an intellectual man, nor would he want to be, but he is shrewd and dynamic. His sincerity is apparent--he wants to do something <u>for</u> these people: (not <u>with</u> them, while he observes the norms of inclusion, he makes no pretense that he believes in them).

Wilbur Dickenson is the assistant director and documentor for the project. He probably works more closely and more often with Green than anyone else in the project. He is young, attractive and sophisticated--a man for whom this position is probably a stepping stone. Dickenson's career path is one that we were told is common in the rural south. He has been a coach and driver education teacher at the high school level--jobs that are traditionally routes to administrative positions. He also has graduate training in the areas of curriculum and instruction. He is affiliated with the IHE and has an office there but he doesn't teach. His responsibilities include planning and evaluation of inservice workshops, coordination of project activities that involve the IHE, and virtually anything else that a "second in command" may be asked to do. Although they are very dissimilar, Dickenson and Green have been able to work out a relationship of mutual accommodation. They link the white world and the black, and it appears that they make an effective team although Scott complains that Dickenson is too comfortable in the university setting and has to be pushed out into the schools where Green thinks he ought to spend more of his time.

Dorthy Watson, the team leader of the four interns, has previous experience in education (though not in Grant County) as a teacher and guidance counselor. She is continuing her own career development in the Leader Training Program at the University of Wisconsin and finds that to be the most exciting and stimulating part of her role. Watson feels that she has grown into her job--and while she claims she didn't structure it well at first, she is learning to do so. To illustrate, she said that at first she had the interns observing teachers but she hadn't focussed the observers and they did not know what they were looking for. Now she puts much more structure into the intern program, and as the interns move into the classroom, she is demanding weekly lesson plans from them and keeping in close touch with their activities.

Watson also works closely with Tom Hughes, the community coordinator. She frequently brings back learning games from her monthly trips to the University of Wisconsin and thinks those which deal with self-esteem and self-image are particularly appropriate to community education in Grant County. Green complains that Watson and Hughes work too closely together and are blurring the line between their jobs. Watson doesn't think so and feels that their cooperative efforts form very strong part of the project.

Community coordinator Hughes is the quietest of the four core staff members and appears sincere and dedicated. He describes himself as very uncomfortable in the university setting and happiest when he is in the schools or out in the community. According to teachers and principals, he and Watson are the project staff people who most often visit the schools, although the other staff visit regularly as well. It should be pointed out that even Watson and Hughes, though southern blacks who are accustomed to working in schools, are considered "outsiders" in Grant County and, as such, are suspect. Teachers are unlikely to ask them for help or to request post-workshop followup and even when it is proferred they may not accept this help from "outsiders." One reason the staff is inside the schools so much is to overcome their outside status. Also, as Joe Green points out, "That's where you have to be, that's where the action is."

There are four interns involved in the project, three who started with the project and one who recently replaced an intern who left. The project director sees them as students who are included in project meetings when it is appropriate, but he also sees them as apprentices rather than members of the core group. They have finished a year of observation and are now moving into the classroom setting and pursuing one day a week of community service.

The IHE does not appear to be a vibrant component of the project. William Pelham College is a commuter school primarily attended by whites and offering mostly undergraduate training. The graduate school of education is the only graduate school currently in operation at the college although there are plans to offer other graduate degrees at a later date. At the moment, the college is constructing dormitories and will start to enroll live-in students in the fall. According to an assistant dean, one benefit to the IHE of association with the Teacher Corps project is that it will involve students from further away and will perhaps motivate local students to broaden their horizons by looking for jobs outside the county after graduation. Apparently, both white and black students tend to spend their lives in the area where they were born.

The IHE has a remarkable assortment of audio-visual equipment including a fully functional video studio. The equipment is much more sophisticated than the undergraduate communication courses for which it is used. Joe Green would like to see this equipment made available for the project to use to video tape teachers in the classroom and thus allow them to see their strengths and weaknesses. He does not see the IHE as being imaginative enough to "go along" with the idea.

Green has little use for the local academicians. For that reason, and also because the IHE does not have many resources to offer, the project uses many consultants from the Region VI Center and from outside the county. Green's Teacher Corps connections and his previous experience as a director have given him a non-parochial outlook; he has used consultants from as far away as the University of Houston and the University of South Florida.

The extent to which the community council exercises influence over the project is difficult to determine. The present chairperson, who has been with the council since the beginning of the planning year, says that

she was dubious at the beginning about working with the project staff since they are all highly educated and she and the other members of the council are not. However, she has "no gripes" and feels the council/staff relationship is working well and that the council's role in the project is meaningful and that there is complete parity.

The activities for the first year of the council came out of "brainstorming sessions" and concentrated on two major areas: a program to teach parents to help their children with schoolwork at home, and an adult literacy program. This year the council is conducting a survey. Each council member is selecting five homes in his/her community and administering a 35-question needs-assessment instrument concerning the weaknesses of the schools. The results will be compiled by Hughes and Watson, and the council will establish new priorites for the identified needs that result from the survey.

The chairperson says that meetings are attended by the "faithful few." All three principals are members of the council and Mr. Washington, the high school principal, is one of the most faithful. The other two principals attend only occasionally and, although they contribute to the conversation, they don't arrive with their own agendas. One reason the chairperson sees for Mr. Washington's admirable attendance record is that the meetings are held at his school. The chairperson reserves her highest praise for Hughes, the community coordinator. He has moved into the community and has become a part of it and an "inspiration to everyone." He always attends council meetings. Though Green, Dickenson, and Watson come less frequently, they are always there if it is necessary or if the chairperson asks them to be.

The chairperson sees communication among all components of the project as "open." Thus far, the council has concentrated on needs outside the schools but, as a result of the community survey now taking place, the council will begin to look at school needs as well. These needs will be addressed during the life of the project and beyond. The chairperson expects the principals to be receptive to anything which will help their schools, no matter what the source.

The chairperson feels the council has been very successful. The success may be attributed both to the work of the community coordinator and to the careful planning done by the project staff at the beginning of the project.

> "To date, the Council has not experienced any failures per se. Activities were planned and implemented in a manner that virtually assured success. To experience failure at this early stage would have severely weakened the role of the Council." (First Continuation Proposal)

The policy board includes the three principals as ex officio members who are regularly in attendance. The project director, also an ex officio member, serves as non-voting chairman of the policy board ("Somebody has to keep things moving"). It is doubtful that any real influence over the project is exerted by the policy board. Again, an assessment is difficult to make. However, while everyone assured us that the policy board was "important," no one could point to anything specific that the board had done.

The substantive focus of the project is on competencies that teachers need to acquire based on a needs assessment that was conducted in the planning year. Identified needs lie particularly in the areas of multi-cultural education, career education, and the education of exceptional children. Twenty specific competencies are identified in the project continuation proposal. The underlying theme of the project is to bring in almost any kind of resource that might alleviate isolation, lack of motivation, and lack of self-esteem on the part of both teachers and students. The specific objectives of the proposal are not as important in Grant County as they might be in a more sophisticated site since it is assumed that the teachers, the students, and the schools need everything and will accept anything.

Perhaps the most popular feature of the project is the VIPS (Volunteers in Public Schools) program which trains parents as teacher aides. This program involves community education conducted through a series of training sessions which prepare parents to take over as teachers in the classroom while teachers attend inservice workshops in the schools. The VIPS program is a link between the community education and inservice components and is generally well regarded and considered effective. Not a minor consideration for the VIPS participants is the small stipend that is paid to them for working in the schools. In an area where the extraordinarily low drop-out rates in the schools is attributed by some to the free and reduced lunch program, no amount of money can be considered too small to be important. The VIPs program also contributes to the project's visibility in the community.

The community council selected the VIPS participants. Members from each geographic area, who know virtually everyone in their own communities, did the selecting, and project staff stayed out of it.

The major thrust of teacher re-education is inservice workshops offered in the schools. There is no single theme to the offered inservice training. Topics range from recognizing physical ailments in the classroom to developing Individualized Education Plans for handicapped students. The workshop on classroom management that was offered last summer was the one most often singled out for mention by both teachers and principals. Joe Green says, "They love it now but it was like pulling teeth to get them to go.") Courses are offered through the university for credit towards a Master's Degree and are held in the schools. Unlike the inservice workshops, these courses are voluntary. Some teachers have elected to attend; more have not. The high school principal points out that many teachers are near retirement age and getting Master's Degrees would be a case of "getting all dressed up with nowhere to go."

The Three Principals

Mr. Ward, of the Salk Elementary School, has been principal of that school for the 23 years it has been in existence. He is difficult to talk with because he is both guarded and uneasy. He appears to be an intellectual and an introspective man. Mr. Ward is always in the halls or in the classrooms of the school; according to him, his office is so cluttered with paper that it is impossible to sit in there. He worries about his unfinished paperwork, wonders if there is a guideline somewhere that can tell him how much time he should spend on administration.

Joe Green says that one would need roller skates to follow Mr. Ward around as he prowls the halls shooing students (like a mother hen) back into their classrooms, as he checks on activities and looks through the windows of classrooms. Mr. Ward runs his school in a way that focusses all interaction on him and involves him in every activity, however trivial. His relationship to the school appears almost symbiotic. This impression is heightened by the fact that he is the only principal the school has ever had and he lives in a house that is adjacent to and practically on school property.

Mr. Ward is receptive to Teacher Corps so long as the emphasis of it fits his own agenda, the focus of which is curriculum improvement. He has conducted a workshop in writing curriculum objectives both for his teachers and for the teachers at the other elementary school, Lower Grant. He is working on a doctorate degree (which he wishes Teacher Corps would subsidize), and is quite conversant with recent educational literature in the area of curriculum.

Mr. Ward engages in a great deal of teacher observation. His preferred method is to come into a class and organize a group of students for some activity, such as reading. He is then able to teach the group and simultaneously observe the class and teacher. When interviewing a new teacher, Mr. Ward is primarily interested in issues of classroom management ("If this situation arose, how would you handle it?"), and teaching skills. It appears that Mr. Ward is personally interested in innovative ideas for instruction and theories of curriculum. He is, however, so much of a "loner" that collaboration with his own teachers as well as with the Teacher Corps project staff is difficult for him. Teachers at his own school and at the other elementary school (where he has given workshops) speak with respect of Mr. Ward. The comment heard most often about him is that he "knows everything that is going on in the school." He is also respected for his substantive knowledge and his instructional leadership. Overall, Mr. Ward's style of leadership might be characterized as centralized and controlling.

Mr. Stone, who is principal at the Lower Grant Elementary School and a preacher as well, acts out the role of "gatekeeper" and the swinging gate on his office door further supports this impression. He likes to lean on this gate as if it were a church lectern. He is easier to talk with than Mr. Ward, but difficult to understand because his articulation is poor.

Like Mr. Ward, Mr. Stone is a native of the community and has more than twenty years of experience as principal and as preacher. The style of leadership characteristic of Mr. Stone is inspirational and paternal. He sees staff morale as important and encourages teachers to help each other. He says, "The chain is only as strong as its weakest link." He is spoken of by teachers in his school with warmth and affection.

It is part of the lore of the Teacher Corps project staff that Mr. Stone was originally somewhat reluctant to take part in the project and was

very cautious in his approach to it. It required a concerted effort by the staff and repeated explanations of every portion of the plan to win Mr. Stone's support. This conversion process is something of which Mr. Stone himself seems rather proud. "I had to be convinced," he says. Now the Teacher Corps project is completely welcomed by Mr. Stone because it comes in "to do good for his students" and not to "denounce his program or criticize his teachers." Now that the program has proven itself, he has no desire to be a leader in it but devotes his energies to being a "good follower," which he believes the world needs more of.

Mr. Stone is usually in or near his office which is rather bare and tidy. He says that he only goes into a classroom when he has a reason to. "If you make a habit of sticking your head in the classroom door, the teacher thinks you don't trust her." Since many of the teachers, like Mr. Stone, have been at Lower Grant for more than twenty years, the relationship of trust is well established.

According to Mr. Stone, the teachers at Lower Grant are very busy and have no relief or time for planning since they even spend their lunch time with their classes. Mr. Stone holds monthly, and sometimes bi-monthly, staff meetings and encourages teachers to get to school by 7:45 in the morning (he gets there at 7:00) for planning and for informal coordination. Horizontal teacher-to-teacher communication is encouraged at Lower Grant. (At the other elementary school, the flow of communication is more often vertical--from and to Mr. Ward who, when asked about teachers talking to each other, said that in his view "they do too much of that.") There is no staff lounge in either school and no natural gathering place--not even a coffee machine.

One point on which Mr. Stone speaks very firmly and with conviction is his policy on interviewing new teachers. He looks for "dedication, certification, and three good (confidential) references." He prefers to hire experienced teachers but wants to find out why they left their previous positions. New teachers receive their orientation primarily through manuals and textbook teacher guides and he "shows them around." Mr. Stone's other firm policy is on discipline. When a teacher encounters a discipline problem that she can't handle, she sends the student to the office along with a note saying what the problem was and how the teacher handled it. Mr. Stone keeps these notes on file in case a parent questions either the action of the teacher or the

principal although, given the stature of Mr. Stone in the community, it's doubtful that anyone does.

While Mr. Stone seems less intellectual and less introspective than Mr. Ward, he did attend the summer workshop in classroom management and took a summer course in curriculum development at the State University. (In general though, according to Joe Green, since Mr. Stone won't travel by airplane and is usually unwilling to leave Grant County, he is a "stay at home.") Mr. Stone referred to the summer courses as a way of "sharpening his tools."

The high school principal, Mr. Washington, is the youngest and the most verbal of the three principals involved in the project. He describes himself both as an educational leader who is happiest when in the classroom and who is actually in the classroom a great deal, and as an administrator who makes policies. Mr. Washington has both an assistant principal and a guidance counselor and therefore gets help with administration and discipline.

Mr. Washington, who came from a nearby district, is in his third year as principal of the high school after taking over this post from an extremely well-liked paternalistic principal who had been there over twenty years. He has tried to move cautiously when making changes and is now quite well accepted by both faculty and students.

One technique used by Mr. Washington to accomplish the acceptance of himself as the new principal is to frequently invite the former principal to the school to take part in various occasions and events. Mr. Washington was then able, as he puts it "to attach (himself) to the root before pulling out branches." Still, Mr. Washington lacks the charisma the former principal is reputed to have had and his popularity (according to one teacher) is somewhat mixed; about half of the students like him and about half of them don't. One teacher said that during Washington's first year, he received some "boos" from students when he stood up to make announcements in assembly. Two other teachers attributed this mixed reception to Washington's enforcement of a discipline policy called the "baseball" system which, as the name implies, puts the student out of school on suspension after the third strike. Some teachers will bypass this system (as being too strict) and will instead send the student to the guidance counselor who has been in the school for nineteen years and is well known in the community. The guidance counselor is able to reach parents informally and can often solve the problem without the use of formal discipline.

Mr. Washington apparently takes a creative approach to problem solving. For example, when he came to the school he learned that very few students were taking advantage of the opportunity to be bused to a nearby vocational program. This was due to the fact that the students who did elect to go were trouble-makers and often caused disruption on the bus. Washington son called together a group of student leaders, recruited some of them to attend the vocational program the following year and appointed one of them as bus monitor. The bus monitor still reports to Washington daily, and although the problem is solved, Washington is able to demonstrate his continuing interest.

An important aspect of Mr. Washington's role as principal is his mission to have his high school become accredited. The accreditation represents not just a credential but a way to upgrade the image of education in general and to improve the self-concept of the school's teachers and students. Washington speaks eloquently of the problems of his students and of all the children in Grant County. He sees them as outside the larger society with nowhere to go when they get out of school. More than the other principals, he spoke of the low self-esteem and negative self-image of the students, and did so with great feeling. He would like to see more of the high school's graduates leave Grant County and go into the larger world where they might have greater opportunity. He also spoke of the problems teachers face in motivating children to learn, often making them impatient and frustrated.

Teachers spoke positively of Mr. Washington but did allude to some discontent concerning Jefferson's policy that all teachers submit weekly lesson plans to him. He uses these as the basis for unannounced classroom visits to see if teachers are doing what they said they were going to do. However, the visits themselves are not seen by teachers as threatening but as useful and constructive evaluations. The thing most often said about Washington is that he really intends to upgrade the school and these aspirations are popular with the teachers.

Washington's relationship to the Teacher Corps project is probably the closest of the three principals. The mobile unit in which the project staff spends a great deal of time is on the grounds of the high school and one project staff member referred to the high school as "the home school." Another said that when she wanted to try something out that principals

might not like she tested the idea first on Mr. Washington--if he winced, the others would have a much stronger negative reaction. Washington sees himself as an insider in the Teacher Corps and is warmly positive about it. He points out that the schools need the project more than the project needs them and he makes every effort to cooperate. In addition to the services the project provides, Washington sees participation in Teacher Corps as giving teachers the feeling that there "is somebody out there who will come to our aid," thereby improving morale.

Of the three principals, only Washington spoke of building linkages with the community; however, since the other two principals are natives to the community, this is probably something they don't even think about. Washington has made a priority of revitalizing a moribund PTA and sees the VIPs as "carrying back a message to the community." No one else looked at the VIPS program in that light and this is consistent with Washington's desire to connect with the community.

The emphasis which Mr. Washington stresses when looking at potential new teachers is humanistic. He wants his teachers to have a basic philosophy which is expressed as concern for the "democratic process" and sensitivity to the problems of a rural setting, of children in general and of black children in particular. He also wants his teachers to possess a good moral character to serve as examples for the students.

Washington describes his relationship with the faculty as open but formal. When teachers have a problem, they schedule an appointment with him to discuss it. When he sees a problem during his classroom observations he schedules an appointment with the teacher. When Washington has "strong feelings" about something he schedules a staff meeting--he believes that "teachers want to conform when they know what administrators want."

The three principals feel that "a lot" is becoming institutionalized through Teacher Corps, primarily in the area of new techniques and teaching practices teachers are learning. However, Mr. Ward, of the elementary school, worries that the project ideas that are too theoretical won't be institutionalized--he is referring primarily to the courses offered by the IHE. Mr. Washington believes that good strategies and techniques can survive staff turnover--although this is not a problem in Grant County.

Project/Principal Interactions

To date, there has been a good deal of project activity--in the schools, most notably the inservice sessions. Participation in the inservice sessions is mandatory for all teachers and the VIPS take over classes so teachers can attend. This system works well in the elementary schools but not as well in the high school where more subject matter expertise is required to take over a class. The system also affects all three principals who seldom feel able to attend the workshops because classrooms require more monitoring when the VIPS are in charge.

The project takes a responsive and/or accommodating attitude toward any inservice need expressed by the principals and this may be a public relations tactic on the part of Joe Green. Mr. Ward of the Salk Elementary School is the principal most likely to request such service and he may do so partly because he knows of Green's accommodating attitude. Whatever Mr. Ward requests, Mr. Stone's elementary school also gets, though Mr. Stone is less likely to request anything on his own. Mr. Ward says, "Whatever I request they schedule"; Mr. Stone says, "Whatever they schedule, we need."

Mr. Washington may deal most straightforwardly with project staff and with Joe White, and vice versa. He may be the most able to take initiative. He does not claim, however, that he really has but only that he could. (The only example he gave of such initiative was of a time when some scheduled Teacher Corps activity conflicted with some other scheduled event at the high school and he asked Teacher Corps personnel to reschedule and they did.)

The interactions between the principals and the project take place within the ceremonial formalities of the culture of Grant County. As explained by Joe Green, this is a society built on authority traditionally vested in certain roles--as the teacher is to his/her students, so the principal is to his teachers and to carry his analogy further, so the project director is to the entire project."

Joe Green's interaction with the principals is quite formal. He never enters schools without checking in first with the principal and he requires his staff to do the same. With Stone and Ward (less so with Mr. Washington) he is courteous and deferential. Nevertheless, he expects to get what he wants and he usually does. When planning any activity, he consults with the principals and he is careful to include and/or incorporate any specific suggestion that a principal makes.

The primary role of the principals within Teacher Corps is to schedule and facilitate project activities. In general this is done smoothly and the interaction works well. Mr. Ward, however, did object at least once when he refused to let any of his teachers attend an inservice day at the IHE. He felt that he had not been given sufficient notice to schedule teachers for it and he simply exercised his prerogative not to send anybody. The project staff was furious but powerless to do anything about it, and no one suggested that the teachers affected might have had any say in the matter at all. Mr. Ward exerts more in-school control over Teacher Corps activities than the other principals. He was the only one to make the intern assignments to specific teachers and to assign the VIPS participants to specific classrooms each time they came in.

The fit of the project with the overall ambitions expressed by the principals for their schools appears to be quite good. It reinforces Mr. Washington's major goal of accreditation. It accommodates the curricula needs expressed by Mr. Ward and it fits into the overall philosophy of Mr. Stone, who presides like a benevolent presence over Lower Grant and welcomes improvements to it.

Summary

This Southern rural project is one in which "top-down" planning and "top-down" implementation are among the most salient characteristics. Services are being delivered to needy schools in an atmosphere of benevolent paternalism. In many parts of the country, this approach might cause resentment; in Grant County, it may be the approach most likely to succeed--at least in the short run. Authority is exercised as the majority of people believe it ought to be and no one apparently feels disenfranchised.

The project director points to two particular successes of the project--one outward and visible, one inward and attitudinal. Teacher Corps has joined with Mr. Washington to help Harmony High School win accreditation from the Southern Association. Should they achieve this recognition, Harmony High School will be the first school in Grant County ever to do so. This would be a tremendous accomplishment for the school and for the project.

The other success, according to Green, is that principals in Grant County have "learned to ask" for things from the project. As blacks and

as black educators they had never trusted "the system" enough to ask for anything before. The project staff have worked hard to gain the principals' trust and they feel that the principals have now given it to them. This may be an important accomplishment for the future of the project for several reasons. Principal trust for the project has made them view the project as good for their schools. Their own role in the project appears to be producing improvement in their own self-concept, which may have a positive impact on overall school climate as well. Second, if learning to ask for things (which they have begun to do) is a first step toward some assertiveness on the part of the principals, then it may be an emerging solution to the central dilemma of the project--the problem of transfer of ownership.

The success of the project thus far is really the success of the project staff in its delivery of services to a set of quite passive schools. The key to continuing project strength is to bring the schools to the level of active partners with the project staff. It may be that the first step is moving the principals from being passive recipients to being active participants.

## LARGE UNIVERSITY/SMALL TOWN PROJECT

Donald Phillips

### The Setting

Halifax* is a small mill town of approximately 7,000 inhabitants. The surrounding rural countryside is interspersed with farms. A number of large farm homes and elegant restaurants are scattered throughout the area. Halifax, like many mill towns, has suffered from declining resources and employment as many small factories which once brought prosperity to the community have closed. Many lovely turn-of-the-century Victorian homes atop the hill overlooking the town center have run down over the years and have been converted into multiple dwellings. In the low-lying areas of the town, modest homes are interspersed with tenements. The downtown district, while older and showing few signs of prosperity or growth, exudes a sense of stability and well-being.

The majority of the more affluent families live in the surrounding countryside. Approximately 15% to 18% of the town's population is of minority background who came to Halifax to work in small factories or to work on the farms. Although employment in these industries has declined, there are few overt signs of real poverty or severe deprivation.

The Halifax school system includes four elementary schools, one junior high, and one high school of 1500 students. In addition to serving its own residents, the district also serves a number of surrounding communities. Though the high school and junior high have experienced declining test scores, rising racial tensions, and poor staff morale in recent years, a high level of educational commitment remains evident throughout the school system. However, in-service training programs for staff have remained largely undeveloped.

The Teacher Corps project is managed by the University which is located within a few miles of the town. Despite its close proximity, the University's Department of Education had a weak relationship with the local school district prior to the inception of Teacher Corps in 1978. The university had no previous experience with the Teacher Corps Program. The

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*Names of places and individuals are pseudonyms.

project was initially funded in 1978; 1978-1979 was the planning year, and 1979-1980 was the first full year of operation. Data for this case study were collected during the fall and early winter of the first implementation year.

## The Project

The project structure resembles the basic Teacher Corps design. The primary policymaking body consists of the three mandated individuals: the Dean of the Graduate School of Education, the District Superintendent, and the Community Council Chairperson. In addition to the Policy Board there is a Planning Task Force consisting of ten members: three members each from the Community Council and the University's School of Education, and four members from the school district. The task force acts as a sounding board and advisory body for the project staff. The Community Council is largely an autonomous body that advises the overall project and pursues its own agenda of building better school-community relations. To some degree, the Halifax Teacher Corps project has been characterized by a low level of principal involvement in the planning and operation of the project, and the absence of structures to facilitate interaction between principals and project staff. Only one principal sits on the planning task force and there are no formal occasions where all four participating principals meet as a group or with project staff to discuss or plan the project. There is some evidence, however, that at least some principals have begun to take more initiative in the project, partly as a result of the mutual growth and development of project staff and principals themselves, and partly as a result of the principals participation in the Teacher Corps Network activities.

The Teacher Corps project staff consists of a project director, a documentor/assistant director, two consultants who are staff facilitators of the in-service training program, a team leader of the Teacher Corps intern program, a community developer (part-time), and various support staff. The team leader and the two consultants, each of whom had been previously employed by the school district, are most actively involved with the four school sites, while the project director and project documentor spend more time on overall project planning, on meeting federal requirements, and on working with the education school faculty.

Prior to 1977, the University had often chosen to take its own programs to nearby small cities or neighboring towns. In 1977 the dean of the Graduate School of Education at the University saw within the Teacher Corps concept an opportunity to establish a new linkage between the University and the local school district, and to add a direct service component to the University program. In addition, a Teacher Corps site would add impetus to the Deans' Plans to reorganize the Graduate School of Education. The Dean hoped to initiate an organizational system that would maintain traditional academic disciplines while establishing two new areas involving the entire faculty. These were a Research and Evaluation group and a School System Development group.and the faculty would fall under one group or the other. Faculty in the School System Development group would be available to act as instructors, resource people, or consultants for programs such as Teacher Corps. The Teacher Corps proposal, would be one component of the new orientation and organization.

Halifax had two factors to recommend it as a site for a Teacher Corps project. First, its relatively large minority population made it eligible for funding. Second, the superintendent of the Halifax school district had recently completed his doctoral degree at the University and taught courses there. The superintendent was eager to obtain resources for his district and to strengthen the ties between the school district and the University.

In many respects the Teacher Corps project was an experiment, one that both the University and the school district entered into with some hope as well as with some trepidation. The district was the more wary of the two since it felt that it had gained little in its few previous encounters with the University. Traditionally, the schools had been primarily used by University researchers who "counted a few noses" and then left without providing assistance or feedback. The superintendent expressed his concern in the following way: "The schools have always been ripped off before and I want to see that it doesn't happen again." However, the superintendent felt that, from its inception, the Teacher Corps project was different in that it was service- rather than research-oriented. The school system had little to lose in such a relationship and potentially much to gain (such

as new resources for school staff improvement). The "goodies" were for once flowing in the right direction and the superintendent wanted to make sure that the schools got the lion's share.

The planning year (1978-1979) was spent organizing the activities that would be associated with the Teacher Corps project and in selecting project staff. The newly appointed director was Dr. Bob Ebel, a tenured full professor of curriculum and instruction at the University. He had not been involved in writing the proposal, had no prior experience in administering a program such as Teacher Corps, and had little or no prior contact with the Halifax schools. However, his academic credentials were impressive and his allegiance to the University and to teaching was strong.

A significant amount of time was also spent during this year establishing and activating the policy board, electing a community council, selecting interns, planning programs, and explaining the program to the four participating building principals and their teachers.

Throughout the planning year the direction and leadership for the program came primarily from the University. After the proposal was funded, the dean handed the reins over to the new director, although he continues to meet regularly with the director and to support the project. The superintendent also gave the new director room to maneuver and establish the direction of the program within the stated guidelines. Although continually supportive of the project, the superintendent saw himself playing more of a "watchdog" function than one of program initiator. In part, his orientation was a response to the organization of Teacher Corps which locates the funding and organization of the project in the University. His orientation, however, also reflected the fact that neither he nor the district had a clear idea of what they wanted from the Teacher Corps project. Their primary concern was that a major percentage of the budget be translated into services for the district.

Unlike many other Teacher Corps projects, this project lacked a unifying theme for project activities or appropriate organizational structures to fully link the University with the school district. The organizational looseness might have resulted in establishing a forum for dialogue between the two groups. Instead, it seems to have resulted in only limited discussions between the project leadership and principals (and teachers) about the

direction of the project. The looseness has also meant a splintering of the project into discrete pieces (i.e., the intern program, the University courses, the community council activities), and as yet a minimal amount of effort being placed on integrating the individual pieces into an overall strategy.

The initial program effort relied heavily upon formal courses offered by the University. By and large, these courses were tailored to the emphasis of Teacher Corps, and responded to the formal needs assessment of the Halifax community and schools. Many of the courses were conducted at the University and graduate students as well as Halifax faculty were encouraged to enroll. Apparently this was due to the limited audience attracted from Halifax and the need to have a sufficient number of students to support the course. According to the Project Director, additional courses were offered in the number of schools of Halifax and have in fact attracted the majority of participating teachers. (These on site courses, however, were not mentioned by interviewees during the site visit.) During the first semester, approximately eighty-five teachers from Halifax attended at least one course.

A second component of the first year was the initiation of a study of the climate of the high school. The high school had been experiencing some racial tension (approximately 11% of the student body are minority) and staff morale was low. These problems were generally attributed to the size and design of the building, the special problems facing high school educators, and the diversity of students in the school. It was hoped by both the principal, who encouraged the study, and the Project Director that a special climate study followed by some consulting would help to alleviate some of these problems. Unfortunately, due to scheduling difficulties, the consultant initially hired for this task made only three visits before terminating his relationship, apparently to accept a new job. The second consultant hired proved more successful and, at the time of this case study, had already spent over a week in Halifax conducting the climate study and initiating study groups within the high school composed of faculty, students, and the principal. Although the assistant principals and the bulk of the staff have to date been minimally involved, the mood of the school seems hopeful and the participants appear pleased with this consultant's involvement.

A third aspect of the Teacher Corps project was a Community Survey of Parents done in the Spring of 1979. This was conducted by the Community Council to survey parents of children in the four site schools to see if they were interested in certain activities and courses. In addition the Council has begun to put together a publication on the resources available to the community. In general, however, as in many other projects, the Community Council has had some difficulty in carving out a role for itself. This seems in part structural and results from the many components that comprise the Teacher Corps project . It seems also to be a reflection of the inability of the community coordinator from the Teacher Corps staff to work successfully with the Community Council.

From the perspective of the district, the highlight of the Teacher Corps program has been the intern program. In fact, for many, the four interns and July Dunn, the Team Leader, are what people think of when they think of the Teacher Corps project. Dunn, a dynamic, energetic, intelligent, and highly motivated woman, has taken one component of the Teacher Corps program--the interns--and turned it into the key program component linking the University and the Halifax schools.

The position of Team Leader and the other positions on the project staff were largely undefined when individuals took on their new roles. For most of the project staff this has involved some frustration in their attempts to find out what it is they are supposed to do. However, July Dunn used this open-endedness to pursue her own agenda. As a result, she has built a strong intern program, has undertaken a project for gifted students, and has generally handled much of the day-to-day interaction between the four project schools and the Project Director.

The latter half of the second year of the Teacher Corps project will see a shift away from formal course offerings to designing what is referred to as the "School-Site Consultant Program," a program emphasis growing largely out of the efforts of Barry Ryan, an elementary school principal, the Project Director, and two University faculty members connected with Teacher Corps through the School System Development group. In the teacher consultant program, professors from the School System Development group of the University will become available to teachers and principals for specific school site

consultation. Ideally, professionals from the University will exchange ideas and concerns with professionals from the local school faculty. The program will take place primarily in local schools and consultation will be largely intiated by the schools. However, the success of the new program may be affected by the reluctance of some University faculty members to go into the schools. The University's professors seem willing to enter into only those situations where the problem(s) have been clarified and where the staff is ready for advice (advice dictated primarily by the professors' academic specialties). The desire to consult, exchange ideas, and work collaboratively with school professionals seems more the agenda of the principals, the project director, and the dean than it does the University faculty. This hesitation on the part of the faculty is heightened by the academic milieu that accords such low status to the provision of technical services. The Project Director has few monetary or professional incentives to entice faculty to enter into such a relationship; therefore, for many faculty it remains in their best interest to conduct research, to publish, and to teach, and to stay out of the local schools. Finally, the reluctance on the part of some faculty to actively seek involvement with Halifax--or any school--is exacerbated by an awareness that at least at first they will be looked upon with suspicion.

The Halifax Teacher Corps project can be characterized as having had less focus at the local school level, and fewer activities implemented in the local schools than might have been expected at this point in the project. This in part reflects what appears to be the director's philosophy of project management. The director has by and large been unwilling to push the project in any particular direction and would rather wait to see how the project evolves. The one notable exception has been the "School-Site Consultant Program" in which the Director played a major role in conceptualizing its form and has actively pushed within the University and four school-sites for its acceptance. Letting things largely evolve may make for a stronger project in the long run, one which is more responsive to the needs of the University and district and one which is more likely to be institutionalized. Although there is no one "best way" to lead, it also seems plausible that this style of leadership may produce too little, or may be too slow.

## The Principals

Two of the four elementary schools, the junior high, and high school of the Halifax school district participate in the Teacher Corps project. One of the elementary schools (Naples) and the junior high (previously the high school) date back to the turn of the century, while the other elementary school (Dreeben) and the high school were built within the past twenty years. All four buildings are in good general repair.

Each of the schools has a unique flavor reflecting, in part, the style and personalities of their principals. John Barr of Dreeben Elementary School and Matt Jones of the junior high are both natives of the area. They are described as concerned and strong supporters of the school system, but they are more conservative and less willing to innovate than the other two principals, and, are often dependent upon the support and encouragement of the superintendent.

When Mr. Barr moved to Dreeben Elementary School approximately six years ago, he inherited few significant problems. Mr. Barr has been able to maintain, and indeed heighten, staff morale and the quality of the overall learning environment. He is well-liked by his staff and he runs a somewhat paternalistic though supportive school. He is also considerate of others, likes a lot of support, and is quite sensitive to how others perceive him. Teachers at Dreeben are given a good deal of autonomy which seems to produce good results in their classrooms, though it lessens the opportunities for exchange among program and faculty in general. The teachers appear to have a special relationship with Mr. Barr, but the excitement and vitality one sometimes senses in an elementary school is absent. The school is pleasant and well kept, and it has good resources and a strong commitment to kids, but it does give the sense of being less than a vital learning environment.

Mr. Barr is content with the way things are at his school and looks only for minor improvements. Mr. Barr did not have great expectations for Teacher Corps at its inception. (Mr. Barr's opinion of Teacher Corps is illustrated by his story of a colleague at a regional Teacher Corps meeting of principals who substituted roll toilet paper for individual pull sheets and thereby improved faculty and student morale. Barr implemented this idea at his school and was pleased with the results.) The superintendent encouraged

Mr. Barr to join the Teacher Corps project though, once involved, Mr. Barr seemed uninterested in initiating activities with the project staff and more content to let them take the lead. As he says, "I tend to forget about Teacher Corps," and he displays his empty Teacher Corps binder given to him by the project staff, and says, "I wasn't sure what I was supposed to put in it."

Matt Jones, the junior high school principal, is described as the principal who is most fearful of change. The junior high lacks the warm feeling of the two elementary schools and its atmosphere is cool and regimented. During the site visit, the hall outside Mr. Jones' office was patrolled by the Assistant Principal in the manner of a sergeant at boot camp. Although there were a few indications of excellent programs and a few descriptions of some outstanding teachers, there was little sense that this was an exciting school environment.

Racial tension is more evident in the junior high than in the two elementary schools. An incident involving two white students and one minority student occurred in the hallway during the site visit and was ignored by Mr. Jones who proceeded as if nothing had happened.

Mr. Jones appears to have some problems with his staff. He spoke of "those union people" and how they were always doing things to annoy him. During the site visit, teachers seemed eager to assure the site team that everything was okay, but appeared relieved when the visits were over. There was a strong sense that neither the principal nor the site team was particularly welcome. Mr. Jones seems to run a tight ship, is wary of change, and looks forward to his retirement in seven years.

Mr. Jones has been largely skeptical of the Teacher Corps project and does not anticipate getting a great deal from it. He has initiated little communication with the project staff and although receptive according to the Project Director has encouraged few Teacher Corps activities in his school. Of the four participating principals, Mr. Jones has been the most reticent and the least involved at a conceptual, commitment or practical level. He describes himself as spending an average of two to three minutes a day on Teacher Corps-related activities.

Principals Barry Ryan of Naples Elementary School and David Liberman of the high school are young, relative newcomers to the district who arrived

with the new superintendent five years earlier. Ryan and Liberman are perceived as energetic, intelligent, and concerned individuals.

Mr. Ryan of the elementary school is seen as the "star" who turned around an older school that suffered from poor staff morale, declining test scores, and a poor overall school climate. Teachers, parents, and students seem to thrive on Mr. Ryan's leadership. The school, though an old renovated building, exudes cheerfulness. There is an ease between Mr. Ryan and his staff and teachers were very positive in their descriptions of him. He is a warm, open, and supportive individual who also has many ideas for the school and likes to become involved in their implementation. Mr. Ryan is concerned about and involved in almost every aspect of the school and he is active in many district projects and professional organizations as well.

Mr. Ryan supported the Teacher Corps concept from the beginning. He saw in the project potential for bringing needed resources into his school as well as an opportunity for the school system in general to establish a new relationship with the University.

David Liberman, the high school principal, is described in much the same way, although he has not yet become "the star." Mr. Liberman, like Mr. Ryan, inherited a school with low staff morale, racial tension, and poor school climate, but he has had little success to date in affecting change in these areas. This is believed to be a byproduct of the special problems that face the high school (i.e., the large size of the school, problems handling teenagers, particularly when there is tension between racial groups, a faculty divided amongst itself, and the large impersonal bureaucratic structure of the high school), rather than the fault of the principal.

Mr. Liberman appears to be uncomfortable around some of his faculty and according to several sources in the school he tends to spend much of his time in his office and the administrative wing of the school. He gives the impression that he would like to see the school change and that he is thoughtful and concerned but that it has been difficult to make the needed changes. In many respects, he seems less the principal of a school who is actively taking the pulse of the organization and seeking to change it and more like an administrator who is initiating policy and expecting others in the school to take care of its implementation. It should be noted, however, that Mr. Liberman initially played a significant role in developing the Teacher

Corps-sponsored Climate Study of the High School. In addition, he has actively sought faculty support and has actively worked with the consultant and many Study Groups. He hopes that the study and workshops run by the consultant will prove helpful in making the high school a better place for both students and teachers.

Although there are some striking differences in the degree of involvement of the four principals, in general in the early stages none had much impact upon the Teacher Corps project. The principals initially heard about the Teacher Corps project through their superintendent when they were informed that the Halifax school system and their schools would be involved. They were told at that time that the program would not take much of their time, that it would be beneficial for the principals and their schools, and that the superintendent had committed himself to the project and had a personal interest in its success. Though three of the four principals were initially hesitant, there is no indication that any of the principals tried to withdraw his individual school.

In the early part of the planning period, the dean visited the principals at their schools to explain the program and to establish their support. The newly appointed director then visited with the principals at their schools and at district Administrative Council meetings which were run by the superintendent. In general, the principals responded well to this courting period and believed that the University and the project director intended to provide needed inservice resources to the district--resources which had traditionally been lacking in the district. During these early months of the planning year the principals felt well informed and involved, and based upon their initial contact with the University, the principals went to their faculties to sell the program. The initial reactions varied from general disinterest to moderate concern that this would be just another federal program that would interfere with teachers' doing their jobs.

All four principals voiced some disappointment with the latter part of the planning year. They believed the project was ignoring them after they had given their initial support. This was due in part to the large number of activities that occurred during the planning year, and to the time and energy it took for the project staff to establish the community council and initiate

the other planning tasks. However, the principals' feelings of desertion were also a result of the fact that they were never really viewed as integral members of the planning process, the project's staffing activities, or the project's design of programs. For example, the team leader was selected while three of the four principals were at the Atlanta Teacher Corps conference. Although the principals were not displeased with the choice, all were aware of the fact that they had not been consulted or included in the decision making process. Though the four principals voiced these concerns, only one said he wished he had been more involved. Based on further discussions, however, it is apparent that they all wished they were better informed and even consulted when staff and program decisions were made that directly affected their schools. The extended planned period--one year--and the lack of principal involvement found both the principals and their staffs beginning to lose interest. By the beginning of their second year, many felt that this was truly just another federal program. (Although information provided subsequent to the site visits may indicate a positive shift in momentum.)

During the planning year the principals met as a group with the director and his staff only at district administrative planning meetings. In fact, it appears that the director met with the principals only two or three times during the planning year and only once or twice by early March of the second year of operation. While the principals have met frequently with the team leader, their meetings with the other members of the project staff have been infrequent as well.

The apparent decline in direct communication between principals and the Director was exacerbated by the Superintendent's decision to have the Teacher Corps project staff work directly through the Assistant Superintendent in charge of in-service education. Apparently in the early months of the project there was a clear problem about whom the project staff should interact with. The staff had been doing a lot of work with the principals but this in effect subverted the role of the Assistant Superintendent. In order to end this confusion, the Superintendent insisted that Teacher Corps work directly through the Assistant Superintendent and that he coordinate the demands of the principals. This seem plausible to all, given the existing emphasis upon courses which were not school-site specific. This decision has affected the role of the principals somewhat.

The initial design of the project has further minimized the role principals can play in the project. Since many courses are given at the University, are voluntary, and are held after school hours, the principal is not involved in scheduling, and is not consulted about coverage for his staff or about the content of the program that will be offered at his school. In addition, the intern program is fairly self-contained, works primarily with individual teachers, and needs little principal input. Finally, the infrequency of meetings between principals and the director, and the fact that only one of the four principals sits on the planning task force, reduces the effect the principals can have on the project.

The result of these circumstances is that principals have in large part viewed themselves not as initiators in Teacher Corps, but, rather, as responders and receivers. They rarely see themselves engaging in an active exchange with the University, and largely as recipients of services provided by the University. The junior high school principal's relation to the project is described as follows: "He will respond if somebody brings something to him; otherwise he is content to go on with the way things are." Principals have little involvement except to say "yes" or "no" concerning implementation in their schools. When they submit requests for resources and services from Teacher Corps, they generally feel that the director tries to deliver, assuming he believes the request is well thought out and consistent with project goals. One principal referred to a request he believed was legitimate that was turned down. Though he disagreed with the decision, he felt it was the director's role to make it and he was not willing to try to change his mind. This impotence stems in part from the this principal's personal style, but also stems from confusion over the types of resources and services the project is supposed to provide, and the absence of structures to initiate action or to appeal decisions. During the site visit, principals continually voiced confusion about whom they should call on the project staff concerning certain issues or ideas, and exhibited a reluctance to bother the director on anything less than an urgent matter. Where supportive structures for principal involvement are weak, individuals who are less motivated tend to have little impact on how the program is structured and run. Without supporting structures to ensure their involvement is likely to be peripheral.

In spite of this general lack of principal involvement in Teacher Corps, Mr. Ryan, of the elementary school, and Mr. Liberman, of the high school, have been able to have a more substantial impact upon the program than the other two principals. Mr. Ryan has been quite active in identifying how Teacher Corps might help his school, and the four schools as a whole, and has taken action to gain the needed resources for his individual school. It is, of course, hard to know why some principals are more involved and have more impact than others. However, we can speculate about two reasons for Mr. Ryan's effectiveness in working with and influencing Teacher Corps. First, Mr. Ryan is the only principal on the planning task force, which keeps him closest to the project and allows him more input into its future direction. He volunteered for the position when none of the other principals did. However, even if all four principals had been interested, it is unlikely that all would have been able to serve, given that the school district had only four openings on the task force and that it was important to have teacher representatives. (It must be noted that in Halifax, as in other projects, the composition of the governance boards is often not under the complete control of the local project leadership, but is heavily influenced by mandates from Washington. In part, this reflects a concern with not "loading" the boards in favor of one group.) This task force involvement has increased Mr. Ryan's sense of ownership of the project and has made him an active advocate for the project. Second, Mr. Ryan is assertive and actively involved in his school and is eager to take advantage of the resources Teacher Corps has to offer.

An example of Mr. Ryan's involvement was his realization, after a series of meetings with first and second grade teachers, that the transition between these grades was inadequately structured. Based on these concerns he was able to secure, as a consultant, Dr. Maxwell, a faculty member at the University who had previous experience in schools. Discussions between Dr. Maxwell, Mr. Ryan, and the two teachers led to the recognition of the need for a transition first and second grade classroom. These discussions and Mr. Ryan's political skills led to the allocation by the School Board of the resources needed for the transition grade.

It was from this experience that Mr. Ryan began to extrapolate the model of the new thrust in the project--school-based consulting--and since then he has been working with the Project Director to move the project in this direction. The director has also played a major role in developing and implementing this concept but it is also clear that Mr. Ryan has had a substantial impact upon the future structure of the project.

Mr. Liberman, the high school principal, has gained most of the direct school-based consulting resources from the project, but he has had much less involvement in the decision-making process or in implementation of the future direction of the project. The school climate study of the high school is one of the obvious priorities of the Teacher Corps project and the project has been working with Mr. Liberman to provide the types of consulting services that would be most helpful. Mr. Liberman's view is less project- or school system-wide, but more focused on what the Teacher Corps can do for his school. In this light Mr. Liberman saw the school climate study as a means to improve his school. Since the inception of the project he has presented papers at national and regional conferences on the experiences at Halifax High School and has continued to seek and follow-up on Teacher Corps project leadership to actively pursue the climate study.

Interaction of Project and Principals

In trying to understand why things look as they do it is important to focus on the nature of the interaction between the University and the principals. The history of the project helps to explain why the project has been somewhat disconnected from the principals and from their schools. Sarason, in The Creation of Settings (1972), emphasizes the importance of the early stages of a project in determining how it will eventually run and the nature of the structures and relationships that will underpin the new setting. The early stages of a project establish the assumptions, working relationships, and structures that will be called upon as the program takes form. In Halifax, the fact that the project was initiated by the University, with little input from the school district or principals, created a situation where the project belonged primarily to the University, the University's agenda, and not the district's, would predominate.

The University did not want to exclude the local district and the school principals, and the dean and the superintendent did talk about the project, but the University never considered giving the district or school principals much power over the direction of the project. Although the superintendent, a community council chairperson, and the dean comprised the policy board, power over the project rested primarily with the dean and the project director. By adopting a passive stance, the board effectively abdicated control of the project to the University and, as a result, allowed the University agenda to dominate. The University saw itself less as entering into an active collaborative relationship, but as one in which it delivered services to the local district, albeit in response to the district and community's assessed needs.

Heightening the distance between project staff and the local school site has been the lack of previous relationship with the schools of both the University and the Project Director. As an outsider to Halifax, and from a university that had been looked upon with suspicion in the town, the director feels more comfortable dealing with the University, the Superintendent and the Assistant Superintendent and not surprisingly has relied on Ms. Dunn, the Team Leader, and the site coordinators, to work within the individual schools. His most frequent communication with the schools is via the superintendent or the Assistant Superintendent. The Director is probably correct in his assessment when he states that Judy Dunn "is an insider with enormous personal skills who is widely accepted by people in the system and she knows the informal power structure far better than I. It would be folly not to use her skills." However, what the Director overlooks, from our perspective, is his symbolic role in legitimizing the project and its activities by so rarely visiting the schools in which the project is taking place.

The early history of the project might also help to explain why the project director has had difficulty conceptualizing an overall project strategy and translating this into action. The fact that the Teacher Corps proposal was developed not by those who would eventually run it, but by the Dean, appears to have had important implications. Teacher Corps was seen by the Dean as a way to establish a new relationship between the University and the schools. Although the project director feels that he shares the

Dean's vision, he had difficulty in conceptualizing a strategy to carry it out and then translate it into action. He has focussed his energies on keeping the project running, rather than providing more active leadership. Dr. Ebel describes himself as a "juggler" who has had to learn how to manage a staff, balance a budget, maintain ongoing activities, and be responsive to different interest groups.

The Director states: "In part this was due to the way I inherited the proposal but even more so to my lack of experience in management. From the moment I began, we have had to meet a whole series of deadlines (community council election within 90 days, et al) that gave little time for reflection. It has been on the job training in which I have had to live with my mistakes and the weaknesses of the original proposal." Active interaction with the local school-site is left largely up to Judy Dunn and, to a lesser degree, the other staff. This pattern of interaction is illustrated by the following example. After completing an in-house needs assessment with his staff to help update the needs assessment from the planning year, Mr. Barr, of Dreeben Elementary School, submitted the findings to the project director. Rather than responding himself, Dr. Ebel sent the documentor and the program facilitator to the school to help expand and clarify their needs. At the local school level this was perceived, in part, as a rebuff. In addition, Dr. Ebel's low level of direct involvement at the school-site level has led to much confusion about what in fact the director does. When asked what the director's role was, one of the more involved principals said, "I'm not certain what Bob perceives his role to be." Another principal stated, "I don't know what Bob does. Maybe he should be here keeping us more on our toes or helping to set expectations." However, there do not appear to be hard feelings between the director and the principals. Indeed, when the director meets with the principals they seem pleased about the quality of the exchange. They feel that there is just not enough of it. And, while the principals say they feel comfortable calling him, few seem to actually do so.

The lack of communication between the project and the principals extended to other members of the initial project staff. The previous program facilitator (recently replaced by the two in-service consultants) and the

documentor have rarely been inside the schools during the past two years. In fact, the only TC staff person that school faculty members seem clear about is Judy Dunn, the team leader. Mr. Barr, of Dreeben, could not recall the names of the two individuals who assisted him with the needs assessment. It is interesting to note that the project staff person who is most active in the schools is the one individual who came from the local school district.

One of the impacts of this distance between project staff and principals is that until recently principals have had little influence on the direction of the project. This lessens their sense of ownership of the program, thereby reducing their sense of commitment and involvement. As a result, the Halifax principals remain unclear about what Teacher Corps could offer them and what they can legitimtely request. One of the principals said, "I still have some questions about what I can and can't do." In effect, there is a significant lack of communication between the project and the principals. Illustrative of this breakdown was the statement by one principal that he thought the University was getting out of the course business, but he was unclear about what they were getting into. It is unlikely that Teacher Corps activities will have much impact if principals aren't made aware of them. This would seem particularly important since the initiation of teacher consultants from the University is dependent upon principal-, teacher-, and school-based requests and support.

Another important factor to be considered in this discussion is that those structures which were established by Teacher Corps legislation to involve school people in the planning process have had less import than might have been expected. The most likely mechanism for more school, principal, and community involvement in Halifax has been the planning task force. However, the planning task force has no real decision-making power and has acted largely as an advisory board although it did overrule the Project Director on at least one occasion during the planning year. The responsibility for running the task force usually falls to the project facilitator; the director feels that his own attendance should be infrequent lest he overly influence the workings of the group. As a teacher on the planning task force said about the director's involvement in the project, "I don't see him as that involved." Without significant exchanges between

task force representatives and the director, the potential for change is reduced. Furthermore, this lack of exchange leaves the director primarily accountable to the dean and the policy board rather than to the schools and the community.

The legitimacy and strength of the Planning Task Force may have been lessened due to the fact that only one of the four principals is a member. This means that only one principal is likely to have his agenda heard. While it is clear that principals are not the only change agents in a school (key teachers and project staff members may exhibit such leadership), the principals role in fostering school change is unique. While the one principal may be viewed as a representative of that role group, there are no mechanisms for the four principals to get together or to reach consensus concerning the future direction of the program. Indeed, as noted earlier, while one principal initiated the idea of the teacher consulting program, another has only heard the term but has little idea what it means for him and for his school, and two others do not know what Teacher Corps is planning at all.

The activities of the planning task force have been lessened during the second year. Having been viewed rather narrowly as a planning group, it now meets less frequently, since as the Project Director stated, "We don't have as much use of its services." It does not seem to be viewed as a mechanism for fostering local ownership of the project, or for serving a more broadened purpose of planning, feedback and evaluation.

Halifax school staff members repeatedly emphasize that in order to get something from Teacher Corps one must have "initiative" and be a "self-starter"--otherwise not much will happen. The University is interested in doing a good job, but the present structure discourages the development of a solid and mutually beneficial relationship between the schools and the University. The University provides services to the schools but has been slow in moving towards establishing a collaborative relationship with the schools.

The experience in Halifax suggests that the most effective role a principal can play in projects that begin with an unclear focus and have few formal mechanisms for principal involvement is one in which a given principal is clear about what she/he wants, and is motivated, skilled, and aggressive about going after it. Unfortunately, these attributes are not possessed by

all principals. Although we recognize that in a small school district, the superintendent's office may play a far more important role in the schools than in a large city in which the superintendent is a remote figure, and that principals are not the only change agents in a school, the absence of active principal involvement may lessen the potential impact of the project on the schools.

We also reiterate that this case study was conducted early in the implementation stage of a five year project; it is too early to predict the final outcome of past and future activities.